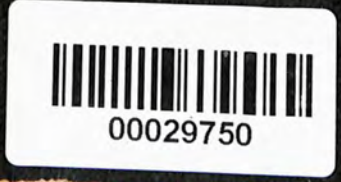
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ADMIRAL SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH.

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THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

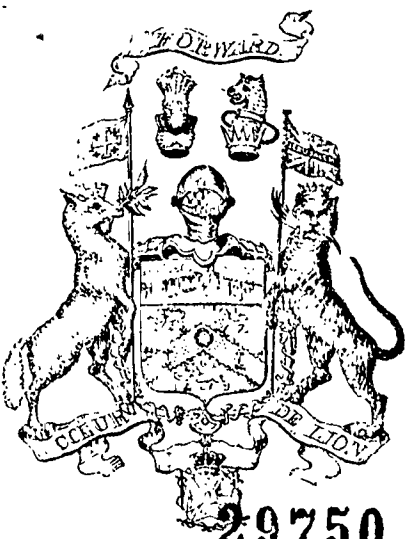
OF

ADMIRAL

SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH,

G. C. B.

By JOHN BARROW, Esq., F.R.S.



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CONTENTS

OF THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

1800—1801.

PAGE

The History of the Convention of El-Arish, and the ill Effect of its Rejection by the British Cabinet.—Resumption of Hostilities by the French.—The Uneasiness occasioned to Sir Sidney Smith. His Defence, and the Ability displayed in his Correspondence thereupon. 1

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC HONOURS AND CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.

1801—1803.

Friendly Reception, public and private.—Congratulatory Addresses from various Bodies.—Returned to Parliament for Rochester.—His Conduct on Mr. Windham's Motion respecting the Case of Captain Wright.—Private Letters. 80

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMELFORDS.

1804. 118

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTH SEA SQUADRON.

1803—1804.

Preparations of the Enemy for the Invasion of England, along the Dutch and Flemish Coasts of the North Sea from Flushing, Ostend, and Boulogne.—Sir Sidney Smith appointed to the Antelope of 50 Guns, with a Squadron to command the Station. . . . 126

CHAPTER V.

SICILY AND CALABRIA.

1805—1807.

PAGE

Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith appointed to a separate and secret Expedition.—Sails in the Pompée to Palermo.—Relieves Gaeta.—Attacks and takes the strong Fortress of Capri.—Visits Naples, and finds Joseph Buonaparte on the Throne.—Leaves him, in the midst of a Fête, undisturbed.—Various Operations on the Coast of Calabria.—The Battle of Maida. 157

CHAPTER VI.

THE DARDANELLES.

1806—1807.

Sir S. Smith ordered by Lord Collingwood to join the Squadron under Sir J. T. Duckworth.—Enters the Dardanelles.—Sir Sidney attacks a Division of the Turkish Fleet, and demolishes it.—Preparations of Turks for Defence, under the Superintendence of General Sebastiani.—Sir J. Duckworth with Difficulty repasses the Dardanelles. 208

CHAPTER VII.

PORTUGAL AND THE TAGUS.

1807—1808.

Emigration of his Royal Highness the Prince-Regent and Family, the Court and its Followers, with many of the principal Inhabitants of Lisbon, to the Brazils.—Lord Strangford to follow as Ambassador to that Court, and Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith to be sent as Commander-in-Chief.—Embarkation of the Royal Family, and Departure for the Brazils. 259

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BRAZILS.—RIO DE JANEIRO.

1808—1809.

Arrival at Rio de Janeiro, and Reception by the Prince-Regent.—Gives a Banquet in the Flag-Ship to the Royal Family.—State of political Parties in the Brazils.—Discussions concerning the Spanish Provinces in the La Plata.—Arrival of Admiral de Courcy, and Departure of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith. 281

CHAPTER IX.

CAPTURE OF CAYENNE.

1809.

PAGE

Captain Sir James Yeo sent in the Confiance by Sir Sidney Smith to the northward.—Calls at Para.—Concerts with the Portuguese Governor a Plan of Co-operation for an Attack on the French Settlement of Cayenne.—After a smart Action, surrenders on Capitulation.—The Captors defrauded by the French Sovereign, and the French Government, of the Prize-Money legally due.—Correspondence of nineteen Years unavailing, and no Redress ever obtained. 328

CHAPTER X.

MEDITERRANEAN.

1812—1813—1814.

Sir Sidney Smith hoists his Flag in the Tremendous.—Joins Sir Edward Pellew, off Toulon, as second in Command.—Sent to Cagliari to adjust some Complaints.—Is well received by the King and Royal Family.—Receives Assurances that all Matters shall be adjusted.—Visit of the Royal Family to the Hibernia. . . 350

CHAPTER XI.

THE KNIGHTS LIBERATORS' SOCIETY FOR ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

1814—1840.

The first Formation of the Congress of United Sovereigns at Vienna.—Sir Sidney Smith appointed President. — Their extensive Labours in Correspondence with various Characters, public and private.—Mr. Wilberforce.—Lord Exmouth.—Prince Bey. . 365

CHAPTER XII.

A VISIT TO WATERLOO.

1815.

Sir Sidney goes to Brussels.—Proceeds to Waterloo.—Is present at the Battle.—Congratulates the Duke.—His humane Conduct in removing the helpless Wounded to the Hospitals, at his own Expense. — Returns to Paris.—Receives the Insignia of Knighthood from the Duke at a grand Banquet.—Employed by the Authorities of Paris on a special Service. 387

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE.

1799—1840.

PAGE

The Occasion of his first Introduction into the Order of Knights Templars.—Receives the Cross worn by Richard Cœur de Lion.—The Brotherhood of the Order in Paris.—Sketch of the History of the Order.—He refuses the Appointment of the late Grand Prior Jacques Molay, but accepts that of Regent, which he retains till his Death. 406

CHAPTER XIV.

PECUNIARY CLAIMS AND APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT.

1815—1839.

Memorial of Services stated.—An Extract of the same Nature.—Probable Result of them.—Receives an additional Pension of 1000*l.* a Year.—His Explanation of it.—Receives also the Payment for his Disbursements in Sicily and Calabria.—Takes up his Residence in Paris.—Much gratified by the Treatment of the Parisians.—Receives, by order of the King, a splendid Copy of the Transactions of the Savans in Egypt.—Various Correspondence. . . . 425

CHAPTER XV.

ADVENTURES, INCIDENTS, AND ANECDOTES. 450

CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH AND FUNERAL OF ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

1840.

First Appearance of his Faculties giving Way.—Proof of the Estimation in which his Character was held in the Assemblage attending his Funeral.—His Character set forth in the Funeral Sermon.—His Will.—The Monument raised to his Memory by Subscription of his Countrymen.—Inscriptions on Sir Sidney and Lady Sidney Smith. 481

APPENDIX.

THE WILL OF SIR SIDNEY SMITH. . 495

THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

CHAPTER I.

THE HISTORY OF THE CONVENTION OF EL-ARISH, AND THE ILL EFFECT OF ITS REJECTION BY THE BRITISH CABINET.—RESUMPTION OF HOSTILITIES BY THE FRENCH.—THE UNEASINESS OCCASIONED TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.—HIS DEFENCE, AND THE ABILITY DISPLAYED IN HIS CORRESPONDENCE THEREUPON.

1800—1801.

NOTHING occurred in the whole course of Sir Sidney Smith's services in Egypt that gave him so much chagrin and uneasiness as the result of the convention, entered into by commissioners duly appointed by the grand vizier of the Ottoman empire, on the one part, and by General Kleber, commander-in-chief of the French army, on the other; the object being to arrange terms for the departure of the French army from the land of Egypt; a measure highly desirable and wished for by both contracting parties, as being expedient for the cause of humanity, and necessary to spare the

further effusion of blood. The two commissioners assembled on board the Tigre, and both parties agreed to refer disputed points to Sir Sidney Smith, for his opinion, but to adopt or reject them as they might deem proper; and this was the extent of his interference; his signature was not called for, and not given to any one point of the convention; yet, by the authorities at home, he was considered as the principal in the transaction, was reprimanded in the highest quarter, and the terms agreed upon, by the two parties, were disapproved and rejected.

It is right, therefore, that, in writing the *life* of this extraordinary man,—the *correspondence* to which his able defence and explanation of the convention gave rise, should not be omitted, or mixed up with his indefatigable and untiring exertions in the field, the camp, and on the sea, which appeared to endue him almost with the gift of ubiquity; but that the whole case, in which he was implicated, should be stated fully, and fairly, on its own grounds, and in his own words. In the first place, then, so early as the 8th of April, 1799, when the destructive siege of Acre was in full operation, the following proclamation was issued, by order of the Sultan, to the French army, with the view of prevailing on them to leave Egypt, whither, he tells them, they have been brought in ignorance, and where they are exposed to dangers and to perish by war; and it offered all those, of whatever rank or condition, who were willing to withdraw themselves from the perils by which they were menaced, to be supplied with the means of transport and with passports, to convey them to such places as they might wish to be sent to.

" PROCLAMATION.

" *The Minister of the Sublime Porte. To the Generals, Officers, and Soldiers of the French army now in Egypt.*

" The French Directory, forgetting altogether the right of nations, has led you into error, has taken by surprise your good faith, and, in contempt of the laws of war, has sent you into Egypt, a country submitted to the rule of the SUBLIME PORTE, and made you believe that it had been prevailed on to consent to the invasion of its territory.

" Can you doubt that, in sending you thus into a distant region, the sole and only object has been to banish you from France, to precipitate you into an abyss of dangers, and to cause you all to perish just as you are about to do ? If in a state of absolute ignorance of what you are about, you have entered upon the land of Egypt,—if you have become an instrument to the violation of treaties, hitherto unheard of among potentates, is it not by the effect of the perfidy of your directors ? Assuredly so. But it is necessary, nevertheless, that Egypt should be freed from an invasion so iniquitous; armies innumerable march at this moment; immense fleets already cover the ocean.

" Those among you, of whatever grade they be, who are desirous of withdrawing themselves from the danger that threatens them, ought, without the least delay, to make known their intentions to the commandants of the land forces, and the allied powers of the sea, to be sure and certain that they will be conducted to those

places where they are desirous of proceeding, and that they will be furnished with passports, not to be molested, during their route, by the allied squadrons or by the common armed craft. Let them be anxious then to profit in time by these benignant dispositions of the SUBLIME PORTE, and let them consider this propitious occasion of withdrawing them from the horrible abyss into which they have been plunged.

"Done at Constantinople, the 8th April, 1799."

Copies of this proclamation were dispersed throughout those parts of the country where Frenchmen were located, and the Turks employed at Acre are said to have thrown them in abundance among the besiegers, by whom they were eagerly sought for. This proclamation, then, and the subsequent desertion of his army by Buonaparte, together with the state in which he left that army, and the desperate affairs of the French in Egypt, afforded a full justification of General Kleber to endeavour to obtain from the Ottoman government, by just and honourable terms, the withdrawal of his army from the country which it had invaded, and in which, of course, he could not even hope, except by complete conquest, ever to form a peaceable settlement. He was himself respected by all, whether friends or enemies, Christians or Pagans, as an open-minded, generous, and honest soldier. The picture he has sent to his employers of the state of the army, and of their affairs in Egypt, required not the sanction of his late commander-in-chief, who had deserted him, to conclude a peace with the porte; indeed in the leave-taking letter of Buonaparte, well knowing the situation in which he had left his army, he advises him to

come to terms, "even if the evacuation of Egypt should be its principal condition." He did, therefore, find it right and proper to conclude a convention with the grand vizier, in the name of the sublime porte, on the 24th of January, 1800, which was exchanged and ratified on the 30th of January, 1800, as appears by the following excellent and convincing letter of Sir Sidney Smith, who, though he did not sign the convention, reserved to himself the right of arbitration, with the confidence and approbation of the grand vizier and General Kleber, the two contracting parties.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD NELSON.

"Ottoman Camp at El-Arish, 30th Jan. 1800.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour to inform your lordship, by my letter of the 8th of November, of the unfortunate repulse of the Turkish troops in the attack made on the mouth of the Damietta branch of the Nile, by way of diversion, to favour the operations of the Ottoman army on the side of the Desert. His highness the grand vizier having required a British officer to accompany him, in his projected expedition for the recovery of Egypt, Colonel Douglas was landed from the Tigre at Jaffa, with as many marines as could be spared from the ship. The same day Adjutant-General Morand arrived from Damietta by sea, and delivered me a letter from General Kleber, proposing to send General Desaix and M. Poussielgue to open a conference on board the Tigre, for the evacuation of Egypt without further contest. This proposition from a general of known liberality, at the head of an unbeaten army, not even hard pressed on any side as

yet, had my decided support in my communication of it to the grand vizier; and his highness, in concert with the ministers of the Ottoman Porte, having been pleased to place such confidence in my zeal for the interests of the allies, as to decline sending any *effendi* on their part to meet the French commissioners, and to write to General Kleber, referring him entirely to me, I proceeded off Damietta to receive his proposals. The bar of Damietta being impracticable at this season of the year, with the smallest degree of swell, and the whole coast of Egypt so flat as to be difficult of access at any time, it was not till the 23rd of December, that we could open the desired intercourse.

"The first proposals were absolutely inadmissible, being no less than the restitution of the Venetian Islands in exchange for Egypt, the guarantee of Malta to France, the transferment of the army of Egypt to these islands, and the rupture of the triple alliance. I did not, however, break off the negotiation when there was ground to hope that less limited instructions might be procured by the French commissioners. A gale of wind drove the Tigre off the coast of Egypt to the northward of Acre, and his highness the vizier, having proposed the adjournment of the conferences to his calling at Gaza, a situation which afforded certain means of communication with Cairo by land, we disembarked, and found the vizier's head-quarters established at El-Arish, the Ottoman army having made itself master of that fort two days before the notification of the truce, conditionally agreed on between the French commissioners and me, arrived there.

"The circumstances of this affair are detailed in the

enclosed letter from Colonel Douglas, whose conduct therein merits my warmest praise. The progress and state of the negotiation being communicated to the divan, a direct and active correspondence was opened with General Kleber, and fresh instructions were obtained from the latter.

"After many long conferences and warm discussions, in which I found myself a mediator between two high-minded chiefs, the one irritated by the surprise of his advanced post, the other elated with this partial, and to him, promising success, the enclosed convention was agreed on, and General Kleber's ratification thereof arriving, it was this day exchanged in form.

"Your lordship will observe I have not signed it, the execution of most of the articles depending solely on the Ottoman government, and on the discipline which may be preserved in the Turkish army; I have, however, reserved to myself that right of arbitration, which the confidence both of the grand vizier and General Kleber most unequivocally expressed, may enable me to exercise; and I have now only to endeavour to prevent any untoward circumstances from again causing the sword to be drawn in this quarter, after it has been thus happily sheathed, by the moderation, humanity, and sound policy of these two highly distinguished chiefs.

"The great objects of our operations in this quarter being the recovery of Egypt for our ally, and the security of the British possessions in India, advantages not to be compared to trifling sacrifices, I doubt not but your lordship will agree with me, that the utmost has been obtained by negotiation that could have been

acquired by victory, where it cannot be the intention to destroy, or even humiliate a brave enemy unnecessarily; besides, it must be borne in mind, that a disciplined veteran army, however dissatisfied with its situation, if driven to desperation, might long keep possession of an insulated country, full of dykes and canals, which render it difficult of access, although it might in the end be overpowered by the resources of three empires when brought forward.

"However, the occupation of Egypt by the French army, evidently delaying the desired event of a general peace, and the effusion of human blood, which must have been the consequence of repeated attacks thereon, seem to have been the considerations which have weighed in General Kleber's mind, and decided him in the adoption of the measure of evacuation, rather than any apprehension of an immediate attack.

"Colonel Douglas, who has been highly instrumental in the military operations of the campaign, will have the honour of delivering this dispatch, and is fully qualified to answer your lordship's inquiries in detail.

"I have the honour to be, with the utmost respect, my lord, your lordship's most obedient humble servant,

"W. Sidney Smith."

The following order of the lords of the admiralty, addressed to the commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean squadron, is remarkable only for its having preceded the convention it is made to annul, and been signed in London, five-and-fortydays *before* that convention was concluded and signed in Egypt. It would not have occasioned much harm, though well calculated to

do so, had it been sent to the commander-in-chief, with directions to him to communicate it solely to the grand vizier and Sir Sidney Smith, who where acting in conjunction with General Kleber, and would, no doubt, have prevailed on him to agree to a modification of the treaty of El-Arish; but the annulling order, having gone direct to Lord Keith, who was at a distance and no party to the convention, he unfortunately wrote direct to General Kleber, to disavow the convention, and to tell him, not in the most courteous manner, that his forces would not be permitted to evacuate Egypt without laying down their arms; on the receipt of which, hostilities immediately, as might be expected, broke out afresh, and prolonged the plagues of Egypt. The French army never could have submitted to the indignities therein proposed to have been heaped upon them; it never could have been the intention, as Sir Sidney well expresses it, "to destroy, or even to humiliate a brave enemy unnecessarily."

"*By the Commissioners for executing the Office of Lord High Admiral of Great Britain and Ireland, &c.*

"Whereas the Right Honourable Lord Grenville, one of his majesty's principal secretaries of state, has acquainted us, by his letter of this day's date, that a dispatch has been received from Lord Elgin, his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, stating that the commander of the French army in Egypt has made proposals to the Turkish government, offering to evacuate that country, upon condition of being suffered to return unmolested to France; that the Turkish govern-

ment appeared disposed to acquiesce in this offer, and that application had been made to his lordship, requesting him to grant passports for this purpose. And whereas, in consequence of this information, Lord Grenville has signified to us his majesty's commands, that instructions should be given to the commander-in-chief of his majesty's fleet in the Mediterranean, enjoining him not to consent on any account to the return of the French army to France, or to their capitulating in any other manner than jointly to the allied powers, whose forces are employed against them, or upon any other terms than that of giving up their arms and surrendering as prisoners of war to the allied forces so employed; your lordship is hereby required and directed, in pursuance of his majesty's commands, as above signified, to govern yourself accordingly, and on no account to consent to the return of the French army in Egypt to France, or to their capitulating, excepting on the conditions above specified.

"In case of the surrender of the army on those terms, your lordship is on no account to admit of the return to France of the officers or any part of the army on an engagement not to serve until exchanged, the fallacy of all such engagements, and the bad faith with which they have been observed by the enemy, having been proved by repeated instances, particularly in the case of the seamen taken in the battle of the Nile and afterwards landed in Egypt; but in any such capitulation to take care that a stipulation be made for the actual detention of the officers and men, as prisoners of war, in some part of the territories of the allied powers, until they shall be exchanged; that the

vessels of every description belonging to the enemy in the port of Alexandria shall also be surrendered, and be divided amongst the allies in proportion to the naval force which each of them may have employed at that time in the blockade of Alexandria, or in any other operations against the enemy.

"If it should so happen that his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople should have granted passports, before his majesty's pleasure in this respect can have been signified to him, your lordship is in such case to direct the commanders of his majesty's ships of war under your orders, who may fall in with any vessels having on board any of the enemy's troops, and being furnished with such passports, to declare to the commanding officer of such troops, that the said passports are of no validity, not being given, as the laws of war require, by persons having any authority for that purpose; but that in this case they should not exercise any other act of hostility against such ships, or the troops therein embarked, than what may be necessary, in order to compel the vessel to return with the troops to Alexandria.

"Your lordship is to communicate these determinations by a flag of truce, with as little delay as possible, to the French army in Egypt, unless you, or the officer employed by you, shall have certain information that the whole negotiation has been broken off, and that there is no longer any question of such separate and unauthorised capitulation. Given under our hands the 15th day of December, in the year 1799.

(Signed) "Spencer,
"J. Gambier.
"W. Young."

The following letter, however, of the 28th of March, addressed by Lord Grenville to the Earl of Elgin, now the English ambassador to the court of Constantinople, is not of so decided and forbidding a character, as the preceding admiralty order; but, bearing date three months and a half posterior to the admiralty order, the mischief had already commenced. It expresses his majesty's disapprobation of the terms entered into by the capitulation granted to General Kleber, as being more advantageous to the enemy than their situation entitled them to expect. It does not consider Captain Sir Sidney Smith as having been authorized either to enter into, or to sanction, any such agreement in his majesty's name, he having no such authority. Yet, if this transaction was to be annulled, the enemy's situation could not be resumed, as it before stood. His majesty, therefore, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, directs his officers to abstain from any act inconsistent with the engagements to which Sir Sidney has erroneously given the sanction of his majesty's name. Therefore, the ambassador is to settle with the porte the form of a passport to be given in the name of his majesty, as an ally of the porte; and, in short, his majesty has no intention to obstruct the execution of this treaty, but will take no part therein; and it concludes with telling his lordship, that if any apprehension shall exist of an intention, on the part either of the Turks or of the Russians, to prevent the execution of the capitulation, or commit any hostility against the French army, either before or after their embarkation, every endeavour is to be made use of *to persuade them* to all such measures as may be most

consistent with the faithful observance of the engagements thus contracted with the enemy.

TO THE EARL OF ELGIN.

"Downing Street, March 28, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's dispatches, to No. 22 inclusive, of the present year; upon a consideration of the information contained in them, relative to the late transactions in Egypt, his majesty has signified his disapprobation of the terms entered into by the capitulation granted to General Kleber,—those terms appearing to be more advantageous to the enemy than their situation entitled them to expect, and being likely to prejudice the interests of the allies, by restoring to the French government the services of a considerable and disciplined body of troops.

"His majesty, besides this objection to the terms, does not consider Captain Sir Sidney Smith as having been authorised either to enter into or to sanction any such agreement in his majesty's name, he having no special authority for that purpose; and the case not being one in which the captain, commanding his majesty's ships on the coast of Egypt, ought to have taken upon himself to enter into an agreement of this nature, without reference to his commanding officer.

"But as the general commanding the enemy's troops appears to have treated with him, as a person whom he *bonâ fide* conceived to possess such authority, and as a part of the treaty was immediately to be executed by the enemy, so that by annulling this transaction (in so

far as his majesty's officer was a party thereto,) the enemy could not be replaced in the same situation in which he before stood,—his majesty, from a scrupulous regard to the public faith, is pleased to direct, that his officers should abstain from any act inconsistent with the engagements to which Sir Sidney Smith has erroneously given the sanction of his majesty's name: with this view you are to settle with the porte the form of a passport to be given, in the name of his majesty, not as a party to the capitulations, but as an ally of the porte, and these passports, as well as those which may in the interval have been (however informally) granted by Sir Sidney Smith, are to be respected by his majesty's officers. But although his majesty, from the consideration above mentioned, does not think proper to obstruct the execution of this treaty by the porte in the manner therein stipulated, he does not feel himself bound to take any active part in it, or to authorise the officers to furnish any convoy or transport, or to take any other share in carrying the same into effect.

"If your lordship should see ground to apprehend any intention, either on the part of the Turks or of the Russians, to prevent the execution of the capitulation, or to commit any hostility against the French army, either before or after their embarkation, every endeavour is to be made use of to persuade them to all such measures as may be most consistent with the faithful observance of the engagements thus contracted with the enemy.

"I am, with great truth and respect, my lord, your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

"GRENVILLE."

Sir Sidney Smith, however, may have felt himself much at his ease, and well enough satisfied with the tenor of the aforesaid letter of Lord Grenville, although it expresses his majesty's disapprobation of the terms of the treaty, and does not consider Sir Sidney as having been authorised to enter into any such agreement; yet as the policy of the convention is therein admitted, cautiously enough, and no credit given to him for the part he had in it, which was that of exercising a controlling power, it was still to be feared, that if he had not willingly and eagerly sought the pacification of the noble-minded General Kleber, the hostilities that had been suspended, and which had already recommenced, would have proceeded to their utmost extent.

As to General Kleber, his position was rendered more deplorable than it had been made by the desertion of his predecessor. It appears in Montholon's history of Buonaparte's exile, that, in deserting his army of Egypt, he only obeyed the voice of France; which, he says, recalled him out of Egypt into Europe; where France had given him full powers to conclude treaties with Russia, the porte, the Indian governments and princes; that he was allowed to bring back the army, or to leave it, and name his successor, or to return at his own convenience. He certainly did so return, but in a very shabby and most unmilitary manner, sneaking away, as it were, by night, without letting a creature know of it, except such as he took with him. Nay, he appointed the man who was to succeed him, in the command of the army, to meet him at a distant place from that where they then were, on the day

after he had stolen away. Kleber kept the appointment, but he says, "I only found despatches from him there,—the bird had flown." Such was the craft or cunning of this great general.

There is a letter from his successor, Kleber, addressed to the executive directory, in which he informs them that,—

"The Commander-in-chief, Buonaparte, left this for France, on the morning of the 1st *Fructidor*, without telling any one of his intention: he had appointed to meet me at Rosetta on the 7th, but I only found despatches from him there.

"My first course has been to investigate minutely the actual situation of the army.

"You can easily find means, citizen directors, of ascertaining the state of his troops at the time of his arrival in Egypt; they are reduced to one half their original number."

He tells them that, "the question is not now as formerly, a mere struggle against some hordes of frightened Mamelukes; we must fight against and resist the united efforts of three great powers:—the porte, the English, and the Russians."

He states the complete want of arms, gunpowder, cannon balls, musket bullets—a picture as alarming as the great and sudden diminution in the number of men. "The troops," he says, "are almost naked, and it is well-known that the deficiency of clothing is one of the chief causes of dysentery, and of ophthalmia constantly prevalent. Buonaparte had given orders, before his departure, for clothing the troops; but on this subject, as on many others, he

contented himself with issuing orders; he exhausted all the extraordinary resources during the first few months after our arrival; to have recourse to fresh levies of money would be to prepare a revolt against us on the first favourable opportunity.

"Buonaparte did not leave a *sou* in the treasury when he left Egypt, nor any property worth one; on the contrary, he left a debt of nearly twelve millions of francs—that is to say, more than a year's income, in the actual state of things: the pay due to the whole army amounts itself to four millions.

"Every thing I here state I can prove, citizen directors, both by verbal affirmation and by the written reports certified by the different official persons. Although Egypt is apparently tranquil, it is very far from being subjected to us; the people are uneasy, and only regard us as the enemies of their property; their hearts constantly beat with the hope of some favourable change.

"Such is, citizen directors, the situation in which General Buonaparte has consigned to me the enormous charge of the army of the East; he saw the approach of the fatal crisis, and he said to me, if the plague should be in Egypt this year, and you lose more than 1500 men, you are authorised to conclude a peace with the Ottoman Porte, even though the evacuation of Egypt should be its principal condition."

It is well for General Kleber that the "citizen directors" were extinct before his letter reached them, but the first consul had it, and gave the lie to all that it contained; from him, therefore, he could have expected nothing but death by torture or the guillotine,

but the first consulship settled everything for the time. That Buonaparte left his army in a bad condition, without artillery, without clothing, without provisions, and with numbers diminished to 8000 fighting men, are false reports, Montholon says, which deceived the English minister; on the 15th December, 1799, therefore, he decided upon breaking the capitulation of El-Arish, and ordered the admiral, in command of the Mediterranean station, not to permit the execution of any agreement which should allow the army of the East to return to France.

The two following letters, of the same date, from Sir Sidney to Lord Elgin, would not have prepared his lordship for the reception of that of Lord Grenville; nor did Sir Sidney, when he wrote these letters, imagine for a moment that any such difficulty would arise from such a quarter. In the first letter, he says, "I trust I have hitherto fulfilled my duties as became a British officer, and when I may be left at liberty to resume the only line of conduct I can ever pursue, I shall be ready to labour as heretofore; meanwhile I shall endeavour to act so as to preserve the right I have acquired to the esteem of the enemy, whom I have long fought, with means acknowledged to be insufficient, and the confidence of friends, to whom I have looked for support." But the letter well deserves to be given in *extenso*.

TO THE EARL OF ELGIN.

"Tigre, Cyprus, 20th February, 1800.

"My Lord,

"I herewith send you a copy and an extract of letters just received from Captain Hay, of his majesty's ship Constance. I trust to your lordship's uniting with me, in endeavours to prevent the renewal of hostilities in this quarter, by any breach of the convention signed, on the 24th of January, at El-Arish, and since ratified with, I am persuaded, perfect good faith on the part of the French general, however he might wish "to gain time," while he was doubtful of finding the same on ours. I thought myself acting on safe ground, while I followed the route first traced and the measures successfully employed hitherto, of engaging the French to quit Egypt, by all fair means, since those of a contrary description could only have the effect of fortifying their power and attaching all their partisans more firmly to their standard and principles, from apprehension of the consequences of separation.

"I am since informed this apprehension has occasioned numbers to fly to Upper Egypt. I was in hopes the pardon, promised by his highness the vizier, at my instance, would have prevented the standard of revolt being reared in that *inaccessible country*, but I see, with the most heartfelt regret, the whole of my labours rendered abortive, by the decisions of my superiors at a distance to adopt a total change of system.

"I wish them success in the ultimate object, with all my heart, however I may have reason to doubt it. It

would be unfair if I were to allow them to suppose I could work with the same zeal, in a new line of conduct, that I have done hitherto, although I shall, of course, most strictly obey any orders I may receive, during the short time I may be in the unpleasant situation in which I am at present placed.

"I trust I have hitherto fulfilled my duties as became a British officer, and when I may be left at liberty to resume the only line of conduct I can ever pursue, I shall be ready to labour as heretofore; meanwhile, I shall endeavour to act so as to preserve the right I have acquired to the esteem of the enemy, which I have long fought, with means acknowledged to be insufficient; and to the confidence of my friends, to whom I have long looked for support, sufficient to enable me to execute their wishes, to the extent that might be right, trusting to their fair estimation, when they come to weigh the matter with the same materials that I have had to form a judgment by, but which I have not been enabled to convey to them to the same extent; it being out of the power of language to transmit internal evidence of the practicability or impracticability of any labour begun. I can only *assert*, that Egypt may yet be restored to the Ottoman government in a flourishing state, by the slow but certain effect of good faith, generosity, and mercy; things having been carefully put in such a train as for time to operate constantly towards this end.

"A contrary conduct can only drive a set of desperate men to a long defence, while the means employed against them are so insignificant, as not even to deserve the name of force; it may succeed by stratagem to

seize on an unwary enemy, lulled into security by solemn promises of safety, and the Turks may, as at El-Arish, engage men of great courage, who have no hopes of *ultimate* preservation, to leap off their wall of defence into the open arms of a merciless banditti,—*the very worst of the worst part of the human species*,—who basely murder them in the same instant, with a most barbarous avidity for blood; but I hope I shall be spared the being present at such scenes, otherwise than with authority to keep the barbarians in the same awe that has hitherto prevented them committing excesses, which must lead to their own destruction ultimately.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following is a second letter to the Earl of Elgin, of the same date as the preceding.

TO THE EARL OF ELGIN.

"Tigre, Cyprus, 20th February, 1800.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"In order to multiply as much as possible the chances of information reaching you from this quarter, surrounded as I am by those who rather wish you to receive your first impressions through another medium, and contrive accordingly, I take up my pen to write a few lines, to accompany my answer to the last letter I have received from the Captain Pasha, and of which I send you the copy by sea, to serve as a duplicate to him in case the vessel I send should arrive first. You will see therein that I urge him strongly to hasten the arrival of the transports, necessary to convey the French army

home from Alexandria, deprecating the idea that has been thrown out to me, in the minutes of the conferences at Constantinople, immediately before your arrival, of entrapping the French army and stripping them.

"I positively will neither abet it or suffer it, if within the reach of my power to prevent such an infamous breach of faith. I don't believe it to originate with him (the Captain Pasha), but he, or his agents, must be employed, if such a measure is to be carried into execution.

"The great national object is attained, if we can get the French army *out of the country*, even if they took the Pyramids with them. I have made my sacrifice towards this object, which is no less than one-fourth of all possible captures, being my personal share; and, if after that, others hesitate the relinquishment of an ideal benefit, to accrue from I know not what calculation of the wealth of these *ragged, pennyless* battalions, and commit any act on the sea after the embarkation of the first division, which shall deter the rest from following, the whole business will be to be done over again, with less means to do it: for no one can expect the former labourers, who have worked hard and brought things to a happy issue, to begin again on any other ground than the original *and successful plan*, when it will become more difficult of execution.

"I conceive you to have acted on Turkish information, imagining it good; when you know them as well as I do, you will not only receive all they say with distrust, but in general believe the contrary of

the *affiche;* when finding you neither to be deceived, nor impelled to action, in their fluctuating way they will yield to *your impulse* as they have hitherto to mine; in no other way can things go on steadily.

"I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Sir Sidney during the year 1800, appears to have been overwhelmed with correspondence, public and private, the latter mostly of a consolatory nature, regretting and deploring the fate of the convention; and with regard to the former, he had reason and justice on his side, weapons which he well knew how to wield to his advantage. At an early period after its rupture, he writes the following letter to Lord Nelson.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD NELSON.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, 8th March, 1800.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I send Captain Hay down with answers to Lord Keith's letters, and an acknowledgment of his orders, but at this critical time in Egypt, being required by the vizier to keep up his communication by sea, now that his Tartars are not sent through Djezzar Pasha's government, I am obliged to employ the Transfer to perform the service that the Cameleon did, till her return, which I take for granted will be soon, with something to relieve my mind from the embarrassment and distress into which it is thrown, by the counter orders I now receive. Lord Elgin having urged me in the strongest language to bring things to a conclusion, and above all to prevent the French gaining time, requiring

of me likewise most formally to let the Turks manage the question in any way they might think proper. I could not do otherwise than acquiesce under the promise already made by the vizier's first answer to Gen. Kleber in October, that the French army might retire with *their arms* in their *own ships*, and such additional ones to be furnished by the Porte, as might be required, more particularly as General Desaix demanded to break off the conference, on my hinting only at a surrender; and though a Turkish plenipotentiary, sitting on his sofa, may talk of disarming them, and Lord Elgin therefore tells them they ought to be treated as banditti, military men opposed to that army, and well acquainted with its power, know that to be a vain wish, which puts one in mind of the advice jocosely given to children, to put salt upon birds' tails to catch them; or that given by a traveller to his clownish servant, to go and catch a Tartar who, when caught, would not let the captor go. Pardon me, my dear lord, this mode of treating so serious a question, but some of the Turkish ideas of war and politics, if they did not make one smile, would make one out of all patience.

"To return to your lordship's letter of the 15th instant, and treat this grave matter seriously, allow me to express my pain at its perusal, and deprecate your displeasure, which I am apprehensive I have incurred, by the reference to your original ideas therein made, as your lordship observes, so early as the 18th March, 1799. I have searched in vain for any letter or order of that precise date, but I well remember the general tenor of your lordship's instructions in the then state of things; since which, however, circumstances have

much changed, and your lordship has given me, as I conceived, a discretionary power to act as might be required; and considering that the distance between us precluded the possibility of answers coming before the famine, which the Turkish army already felt, had dispersed it, and being authorised by Lord Elgin's despatch, herewith enclosed, to grant passports and to facilitate their evacuation, and permission being most earnestly requested for the wounded to depart without delay, as also for the literary men and artists, I considered it conformable to our national character, and the cartel of exchange, to let such persons pass. I of course asked myself the question whether you would approve of this step as it stands, previous to, and independent of, the conventions; not finding in my heart to refuse the wounded. Well knowing and revering your piety, I thought the command from our Saviour "to do as we would be done by," "to forgive our enemies," and above all the memorable command in the parable of the good Samaritan, "go and do thou likewise," would operate in your lordship's mind as it did in mine. If I have erred I am at your mercy.

"Very respectfully your grace's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Lord Spencer, being at all times and on all occasions most friendly disposed towards Sir Sidney, though now a party to the embarrassment he suffered, as one of the cabinet, was one also to whom he was naturally eager to disembosom himself. His lordship's official situation besides demanded his correspondence.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO EARL SPENCER.

"Tigre, off Alexandria, March 13th, 1800.

"My dear Lord,

"Knowing Buonaparte as I do, I take it for granted he will at all risks send a reinforcement to his colony. I have therefore declined the invitation to accompany the grand vizier to Cairo; and have not felt comfortable till I could join the Theseus off this port. Captain Troubridge, in obedience to Lord Keith's and the Duke of Bronte's orders, has sent me so liberal a supply of everything (except cartridges, of which there are none, it seems,) that I am relieved from the distress and embarrassment I have long felt, in common with the rest of the fleet, for those articles which the country does not produce. Both flag-ships have spared us all they could, but previous to that supply we were obliged to look to Cherson, Sebastopool, and Smyrna for cordage, beef, and bread. We have likewise a reinforcement of men which enables me to discharge the Greeks and Sclavonians I was obliged to hire for ready money, to give us the necessary strength for our ordinary work. The new hands were from mutinous ships, it seems, and began by what they called setting us to rights. I have, however, by the assistance of my friend Canes, who was superseded in the Cameleon, set them *completely to rights*, and I hope Captain Stiles has rendered his dissatisfied ship's company ashamed of *their* late conduct. Both ships had of necessity been nearly five months out of port, and out of the way of receiving supplies otherwise than by transports, which being ill found and ill navigated did not always reach

us at the appointed time, so that having but a few days' wine on board, and the Theseus being obliged to remain off Alexandria while the Tigre was off Damietta, (a station to which the French expect all vessels to come that fear to approach Alexandria,) it became necessary to go to half allowance of wine. The Tigre's ship's company said nothing, though I must observe that when I have said the best and bravest are, alas! no more, it implies that those who remain are not the best. The Theseus's ship's company, on the short allowance of wine being announced, ran below, and the main topsail being unbent at the time, with the ship on a lee shore, she must have been lost, if the best part of the ship's company had not felt remorse, cried out shame, and came upon deck again, when all returned to their duty. Captain Stiles is not enabled to single out any ringleader to make an example of, so that I do not report the affair to the commander-in-chief officially. It is proper, however, that the circumstance should be known to your lordship, in case of any distribution of the ship's company hereafter.

It is unlucky that this circumstance happened at a time when French prisoners were on board, who, having witnessed a scene of the kind in the garrison of Alexandria, on a similar account, were thus enabled, when relanded, to state that the same discontent existed with us, which operated as a sort of consolation towards the restoration of subordination among the French troops. It seems the mutiny among them went no farther, than that of preventing Generals Junot and Dumoy from following Buonaparte, till they had searched their baggage, to see that they did not carry away the contents of the

military chest, as Buonaparte did; had they known the departure of the latter it would have fared *worse with them.* The execration he is held in, by all those whose fortunes were not made by, or do not immediately depend on, him, breaks out on every occasion when his name is mentioned; the most moderate do not dissimulate their not being his partizans, "depuis qu'ils sçaient par un fatal experience le peu de cas qu'il fait de la vie des hommes." The late usurpation has made some hold a language as if they hoped for peace and internal tranquillity from his policy, and his adroitly uniting the *Moderantists* around him; but none can give him credit for that degree of *moderation,* which would render any system he might adopt permanent, and likely to produce the happiness of their bleeding country. His public profession of egotism saying, "je n'ai pas d'amis et je ne veux pas en avoir," necessarily prevents him having any followers but people of the same extravagant projects, not that it is possible for any man to have the inordinate degree of ambition that he has. Kleber is a manly character, and so frank as to make Buonaparte always lower his tone, in his presence, by a direct criticism of his absurdities; "c'est le feu et l'eau que ces deux," said a French officer to me at El-Arish, who was of rank to have been near to both on critical occasions; and it seems when Kleber found that he had not overtaken the fugitive at Rosetta, for he flew from Cairo *furious* on the surmise of his flight, (and such it was,) he did not spare him in his immediate letters to the directory, which have probably fallen into Buonaparte's hands, in which case there must necessarily be such a breach between them

as to render Kleber his most decided opponent, if it was for no other motive than self-defence. Other motives, however, there are, such as contempt of his presumption, a superior military judgment manifested at the siege of Acre, to which, however, Kleber was called too late to remedy the faults he loudly criticised; and lastly, his having taken on him to evacuate Egypt before he had lost the fifteen hundred men which was the precise arithmetical limitation in Buonaparte's instructions, left for his guidance, and now known to us all.

You have read a certain letter of General Dugua's, which I understand not to be merely the effusion of his mind addressed to a private friend, but a *measure* adopted in concert by the leaders of the evacuation party, who each wrote separately, comparing their letters to make them agree, the intention being to overstride the colonial party with Abdalla Menou at their head, and who, finding themselves very comfortable on the conquered lands of the beys, are become beys themselves, have their Mamelukes around them, and reckon themselves to the full as well able to resist a Turkish army, having the advantage of the European mode of war, as the Beys and Mamelukes were formerly without it. The homesick party of course did not like to remain in exile, merely to be the body guards of those Oriental speculators, who already begin successfully to tamper with the surviving beys in Upper Egypt, to preserve the forts there, and form a permanent alliance with them, in order to preserve the independence of the country against the Turks as heretofore, looking to France for support. The existence of such a revolutionary colony of French turbaned beys

has something so very menacing in it, that I have been doing my utmost to prevent the most energetic Murad Bey from entering into this coalition, and by means of his wife, who still resides at Cairo, and who has offered me her house for my residence there, I was in hopes to succeed, more particularly as he had been induced already to make the necessary advance to me, to enable me to plead his cause with the Porte, by means of a letter throwing himself on the mercy of the Sultan and the Grand Vizier, through the medium of my good offices; but (as he sent me word verbally by the bearer of the letter,) not meaning to trust to Ottoman clemency, till I would take him in my hand to the vizier, a thing I would venture to do from what the vizier has already granted me, on the score of the general arrangement for the preservation of the recovered province, which he was strongly recommended by instructions from Constantinople to concert with me, in consequence of my known influence on the minds of those people, and known earnestness for the preservation of the *integrity* of the empire. But alas! all the evils I had successfully parried recoil on me, and all the good I had proposed to do is lost, not only here but in France likewise, for I had ensured the recoil of this discontented, nay, outrageous French army on Buonaparte, who if not in the Temple already, would certainly be sent there by them in conjunction with his other enemies. Things are at once placed not in *statu quo*, but in a worse situation than they were, by the arrival of such positive orders to break a treaty, the existence of which is foreseen and supposed, although the ground on which it was concluded can only be known fully to those who smarted

under the pressing necessity of its being done in the only way that was practicable.

"I am, as you know, my dear lord, personally devoted to avenge the injuries of Europe, in which my own are not forgotten, but I should consider myself worse than the perpetrators of the crimes with which France has astonished and affrighted the world, if I did not discriminate and readily recognise those who, though the unwilling instruments of the usurpers, wish their overthrow as much as we all do; or if I could find in my heart to wish the absolute extermination of a set of brave men, whom I have successfully resisted by fair fighting, till their esteem and their gratitude for mercy, when their own general had none for them, makes them come forward manfully, speak plain, and agree to all that can in reason be asked of them. The bare mention of disarmament and the relinquishment of their property,—as fair prize to them, they say, as ours on the sea to us,—made them fly off directly; and the more so as their arms, ships, &c. were formally promised them, in the very first *letters* from the vizier to the French general in answer to his first overture, so early as the 7th of October and the 4th of November, before I asserted the right given me by my situation, and most formally by Lord Elgin's first dispatch, to be a party in the question, and to act in concert with the vizier, towards the highly desirable end of the evacuation of Egypt. His lordship's subsequent dispatches urge me strongly to a prompt conclusion, in order to prevent the French from gaining time, and give no umbrage to the Turks by crossing on their views. His lordship conceiving that I was going on

alone in the business, although the vizier and I had concerted measures most cordially and frankly together at our first interview, though his highness, however, as soon as he found that I was myself convinced of the impossibility of concluding the business without allowing the French their arms and their baggage, adroitly shifted the responsibility of that part of the question on me, notwithstanding what he had previously *written*, by appearing to let himself be *persuaded by me*, and citing publicly and with affectation my opinion on that head, all which I bore readily, and am still ready to bear it, from the conviction of its being for the general good, and from a sense of its being a duty, under such conviction, to sacrifice oneself whether in politics or in war to the good of the cause. I will still hope that this *quid pro quo* will occasion only a delay, but will not restore Egypt to the dominion of our rival; for, depend upon it, my dear lord, if they ever get a reinforcement (a thing I must as a seaman admit to be possible, although I am here on the spot to do my utmost to prevent it), they can no more be routed out of Egypt by force, than out of Holland, which is a similar country, and situated much in the same way as to the disposition of the inhabitants, who, though they may not like the presence of the French, have an equal dislike to the Turkish government.

Who could have entertained a hope, at the time of my writing to your lordship, on my arrival on this station, in this month last year, that we should now be where we are, in the grand object of the deliverance and recovery of Egypt? The thing now depends on the *consent* of the British government, a thing reckoned

so certain from the general tenor of all previous instructions, from our evident interest, and from our solemn guarantee of the 'integrity of the empire,' that it was considered as virtually given beforehand. The Turks must feel themselves sadly left in the lurch; and as to conveying any of those of the French back that are gone, it is a sort of hostility, considering that a Turkish commissioner and custom house establishment have already resumed their functions in Alexandria. The Turks can never comprehend that we are apprehensive of the presence of 18,000 Frenchmen in France, which, though formidable here, are lost in the vast map of the population of that country, like a drop of water in the sea. And I own I don't feel that apprehension (though I, of course, considered it much at first,) since I know the discordant elements of which this army is composed, though chiefly of those that were most obnoxious to the ruling faction at the time of their departure, and who influence the machine —more or less still—as being *embarqué dans la même galère*. In fact they are an *army* HERE only, for they would cease to be one on their landing in France, being so completely tired and homesick, that they would not remain *together* in the first instance, and in the event of a fair division and military contest between parties in France, would join the standard opposed to those against whom they have a personal animosity, for sending them to, and leaving them in, this exile.

I wish we may not rekindle that animosity I had successfully extinguished here against us; now that, after having held the door open to them, we shut it most abruptly again to keep them here. They are, as your

lordship may suppose, most excessively hurt at it, and I pass for the most perfidious or the most vindictive and presumptuous of mankind, in the eyes of every one but General Kleber, and those with whom I have treated the question directly, who know the extent of my authorization from authorities necessarily considered to be *competent*, and who witnessed my diffidence in my first answer to their first official note, the moment I found that they went beyond the mere question of what concerned the army itself. An army I had long fought, within half musket shot, I could not certainly expect to be disarmed by a stroke of the pen, when I had no reasonable ground of hope to see it disarmed by any force we had to oppose to it; and surely, my dear lord, feeling myself fully equal to meeting them again, on any other ground if *necessary;* feeling myself an honest man, and above all a faithful and zealous servant of my country, I may be allowed to say with earnestness, nay warmth, though with becoming respect to my superiors, that I cannot sit down quietly, under the imputation of intentional perfidy, even to my enemy, or of betraying my country's interests, without bringing forward every written and oral proof of the contrary, of which I have abundance; at the same time that I deprecate the obligation as disclosing what the world, and above all, the enemy need not, nay, ought not to know, and, occupying me in self defence, when I had rather be employed in attacking the hydra, the re-united fragments of which still menace us as much under one predominant head, and two smaller ones, as they did under five.

I cannot help thinking that if B. is not already

studying the 'Lines on Fortune,' which I left written on my prison wall, expressly and specifically for him to console himself with, when he shall be walking from angle to angle in that confined space as I did, *he will ere long;* I need not tell you, I should be happy to be instrumental to it, but I have first to put two or three things in order here, which are so absolutely in my hands, and so confidently expected of me, that I must not desert my station. I own I should otherwise beg hard to be recalled, for sixteen months' labour, such as I have had, has almost overpowered me, and this terrible blow, at the end of all, has really affected my health and spirits more than two months' *tension* of nerves at Acre. The labour of hammering ideas into thick-headed Turks, by means of knavish dragomen, the brackish water and sand of the desert, the sea scurvy, of which we have all had our tinge, and the night dews of this noxious climate,—all which make me feel like an old post-horse, rather stiff, but ready to run my stage, till the blood warms, and I feel equal to a race at the end of it.

Save me, my dear lord, from discredit for having done my best. I felt even entitled to some reward before I am really past earning even competence. Now, I am hurt, disappointed, dissatisfied, and when I allow myself to think on the resumption of hostilities between the two armies, which I have proposed for better purposes, I am miserable, because, whichever way the balance inclines, we lose advantage or credit, and much blood will be spilt uselessly.

"Ever, my dear lord, your faithful and sincere,

"W. Sidney Smith.

"P.S.—I have this day, 17th of March, met a most welcome supply of ordnance stores, not having been able to get anything but powder here. I ran forty leagues to the N. W. yesterday and last night, in hopes to meet the Genereux and her four smaller ships, which the Alexandrian French made no secret of having been left in the Channel of Malta, by the Latteen, sailing aviso, that got in last week; and seeing two ships this morning at daylight, the Theseus and Constance being in company, we were in hopes we had started our game. Captain Compton of the Perseus, however, who conveys this ordnance store ship, gives me the satisfaction of informing me that the Genereux, and one of the smaller ships, loaded with ammunition for Malta, is taken by Lord Nelson. I am on the look out for a larger flock."

LORD SPENCER TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Admiralty, March 30, 1800.

"DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"Though I cannot say that I think the termination of the Egyptian expedition is, in all points, such as I could have wished, I however cannot avoid writing you a line in haste (the messenger waiting), to congratulate you on the many opportunities you have had and improved of distinguishing yourself by the most indefatigable and spirited exertions, which for so long a continuance, and with such a scarcity of means, have ever before been displayed.

"Had you known what we do here, when you were treating with the French General, I am willing to believe that you would have seen the subject in a light,

a little different from that in which you appear at the time to have seen it; and a very little further delay, on your part, in the conclusion of the treaty, would have given you the opportunity of being more fully informed of the object which the enemy had probably in view by negotiating it, merely to gain time, and take the chance of assistance from home, which (however I may doubt their ability to send), I have no doubt, Kleber was led to depend upon. This is all I have at the present time to add to the public dispatches, which will be communicated to you as far as they relate to you. I will now answer the few points respecting the appointment of officers alluded to in your letter of the 14th of February.

"I have already told you that Colonel Douglas's commission was perfectly informal and invalid; he was, however, before his return, included in a promotion of brevet majors; and I mean to ask it as a favour of the Duke of York, in consideration of his very gallant and useful services, to give him the further step of brevet-lieutenant-colonel, which is the utmost he can obtain in that way.

"Directions have already been sent to the commander-in-chief to give Mr. Stokes and Mr. Screeder lieutenants' commissions, and I have, by this opportunity, recommended Mr. Pike to him for the same purpose. Lieutenant Wright's certificate, when it was sent home, still continued to have some official difficulties in it, but I have contrived to get them removed, and his commission has been signed.

"I hope the respite you will have had from your labours will soon return your health, and that you will

be stout enough to resume your activity in some other of the several quarters, where it may be applied with good effect. I am, dear Sir Sidney, yours, very sincerely,

"SPENCER."

Whether this is meant to be a reply to Sir Sidney's letters from Alexandria is not very important, and as far as Sir Sidney is concerned, is really not worth the labour and difficulty of deciphering. Being considered a steady friend of Sir Sidney, a little more warmth might have been expected; though it may be thought unfair or unreasonable to exact too much from a cabinet minister.

The following characteristic and interesting paper is taken from among Sir Sidney's MSS., and is evidently of his writing, but not addressed to any one. Murad Bey was highly esteemed by Sir Sidney; for, as is said in the next letter, by that excellent and gallant officer, Sir J. Borlase Warren, "Murad Bey is a man." To attach this brave fellow and his numerous and powerful followers to the Ottoman power, and establish him at Cairo, would be the means of securing the possession of Egypt, and prove the next piece of sound policy to the convention of El-Arish. The Arabs have ever been, and still are, a superior people for shrewdness of intellect, decency of manners, and neatness of dress. Sir Sidney's adventure with the Arab on horseback is highly picturesque.

"In 1799-1800, after the rupture of the treaty of El-Arish, which restored Egypt to the government of the Porte, without further military operations, it is

necessary to revert to the relative positions of the dispossessed beys, and myself, as locally directing the whole machinery after General Kleber's successful operations had beaten the Ottoman grand army under the vizier, and driven the discomfited beys into Upper Egypt. My first care towards combining *a fresh pressure* on the French army, before they should have again taken root in the previously relinquished territory, and re-organised their jurisdiction and administration of it, towards which Kleber had wisely contrived to treat the beys and Mamelukes as allies, rather than conquered subjects; my first care, I say, was to apprize Lord Mornington, then governor-general of British India, now Marquis Wellesley, of the state of things in Egypt, in order to enable him to be in readiness to act, in case my similar and simultaneous representation to the government in London, should cause it to order a body of troops to be sent from India to the Egyptian coast of the Red Sea.

"My next care was to apprise Murad Bey, the chief of the refuge Mamelukes in Upper Egypt, that I had by no means relinquished my plans previously combined with him, for the expulsion of the French army from the territory lately under his government, although I was no longer, as heretofore, *in sight* of *Alexandria* with the naval force under my command, having thought it right to proceed to the west end of Candia, in order to meet and conduct the armament from England, which I took for granted would be sent on the arrival of my above-mentioned report. The machinery I had to combine and direct was on an extensive scale. My communications with England were easy by sea and by Con-

stantinople, and Vienna, those with India equally so by the East India Company's Tartar couriers, *via Aleppo*, where mine (sent through Syria) cut in upon their road; but that with Upper Egypt and the lower provinces on the Nile, being occupied by the French army, was not so certain, although I had contrived, by means of faithful Arabs, to correspond with my colleague Admiral Blanket, commanding the British naval force in the Red Sea, through whom I usually sent duplicates in cipher through the French posts, without any instance of interruption. Of course it occurred to me to revert to this obvious means to reopen my correspondence with the eminently brave and active *Murad Bey*, then known to be at *Siout*, governing the district of Saïd from that place to the *Cataracts*, in the name of the French, according to General Kleber's plan of leaving him in unmolested possession on that condition, corresponding with his new system of recovering lost influence and authority by thus absorbing the influence of the territorial local chiefs. It became necessary to apprise Murad Bey that I had not left him to so humiliating a fate; and also, of the probable appearance of the expected expedition from British India at Cossire, on his coast of the Red Sea, to cooperate with him for the recovery of his lost territory, and not to coerce him or punish an apparent adherence to the enemy's system and interest; in short to induce him to consider himself *as still our ally*, rather than that of the French.

"But having no cipher established with the Egyptian chief, and the interception of such a letter by Kleber, being likely to be followed by a successful counterac-

tion of my plan in that quarter, it became necessary to find a confidential messenger to go by the circuitous route of the Desert to the westward of all the French posts, a journey that none but a most jealous partisan, a bold chieftain, and one of name and influence among the Bedouin wild tribes, could be expected to undertake and accomplish, being (out and home) above six hundred miles in an uncultivated waste of dreary sand hills.

"I ruminated long on the list of Arab chiefs given me by Sir Samuel Hood and Commodore Troubridge, my immediate predecessors on the naval station off Alexandria, whom I had relieved there the year before, immediately after the battle of the Nile, and whom they had found, in their intercourse with the shore, to be men of influence, and non-acquiescent under the French domination. I at length selected one name from this list as being the son of Abdalla Basha, governor of Demothone, between Alexandria and the Nile, who was one of the victims of Buonaparte's system of terror, manifested from the first of his landing at Alexandria; not bearing in mind that, though many may be intimidated thereby, the relatives of survivors are exasperated, which a Corsican, surely, ought to have recollected.

"This Arab's name was *Ibrahim Ben Abdalla Basha*, and was known to have withdrawn from the ashes of his father's dwelling, and to have retired to Derné, on the coast opposite Candia, out of the reach of the French authority and arms. To this chief, therefore, at this place, I sent my letter to Murad Bey, by a native trading vessel which I had the good fortune to

fall in with, bound to Derné. I soon after fell in with the forerunners of the expedition from England, and from before Cadiz, destined to land on the coast of Egypt, and arranged for their pilotage and supplies: feeling all the time not a little glad that I had had an opportunity to arrange, in like manner, for the progress of the expected Indian army, from Cossire to the Nile, by engaging Murad Bey to send all the camels of the country to convey their baggage and water, instead of their meeting with hostile Mamelukes under French authority.

"The landing took place, the battles of the 8th, 13th, and 21st of March were fought; we had taken Rosetta, in order to give our fleet the water of the Nile; and being impatient of longer delay as to our march to Cairo, I took a ride, with suitable escort, into the Desert, to open intercourse with some of the friendly Arabs, and reconnoitre the ground by which we were to proceed. It was not long before I saw an Arab on horseback at a great distance, coming towards me, and as he approached I observed his features thin and much sunburnt, and his white cloak bleached by the effect of dew and the sun's rays alternately, manifesting that he had come from afar, and had been long exposed to the sun's scorching rays: when we met (after the usual oriental friendly salutations), he asked for me, by name, and whether I was in the British camp or at Rosetta. When I told him he was then addressing the person he sought, he jumped off his horse, rushed and embraced my knee, pressing his forehead on it, and remained sobbing and speechless for some time; when he could articulate he said, 'I am

Ibrahim Basha Ben Abdalla Basha. I have delivered your letter to Murad Bey, and here is his friendly answer,' taking it from his bosom.

"As we rode on together towards Rosetta, I of course praised his zeal and thanked him; to which he answered emphatically, and with a countenance manifesting the most sublime feeling, 'I would not *send* your letter, I carried it *myself*, as was my duty, for the French killed my father at Dametrius, and you pursue those who killed him; God is great and powerful, and will avenge our wrongs. You are our friend, and I am your servant, on my head I swear it,' touching his turban. 'Murad Bey is well, and will come and help you. He will do as you wish, he told me to say so, but the letter will explain more fully.' The letter, in fact, was very explicit, saying (as my memory well serves me to repeat, even at this distance of time, near thirty years), after lines of oriental compliments and titles usually bestowed and lavished between chieftains, Murad Bey proceeded to say, 'I thank you, my excellent friend, for thinking of me in my present position, for writing to me as a friend, for having confidence in me, although the French choose to call me their vassal and governor of Upper Egypt for them; can I, Murad Bey, forget what I was before they came, and what they have reduced me to? I have employed blood and gold against them, and in the name of God I will do it again, when I can. The ships you mention have been seen on the coast; I have sent five hundred camels to meet and aid them; I will do all I can, all you desire; and now I have a favour to beg of you. I, Murad Bey, who never begged

favours from any man, now beg of you to intercede for me with the Ottoman Porte, for you know the Turkish government does not always do justice to its most faithful servants and adherents: save me from evil from that quarter, '*For the arrow that is stuck in the eagle's wing is an arrow tipped with an eagle's feather.*' And now I have said all; peace be with you, our friend.'

"My faithful Arab friend who brought me this letter, was a little slight figure with a keen speaking eye, a particularly soft and modulated voice, and graceful action; he came off to the Pompée, when I was again at Alexandria in 1807, to see me, and brought a remarkably fine ostrich with him, and some dates, saying, jokingly, 'These are the only productions of my country, and I give you the best I have: when I saw the Tigre (Admiral Sir Benjamin Hallowel's ship, who preceded Sir John Duckworth), I knew her form, and thought it was you. I arranged the capitulation of Alexandria, for I knew you were our friend, and would do us no harm,' he, in fact, signed it."

FROM SIR JOHN BORLASE WARREN TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Renown, off Alexandria, May 2, 1801.

"My dear Friend,

"I have received your letter by Captain Hillyar, whom I was acquainted with when he was Lieutenant of the Phaeton.

"I am grieved at my own individual loss on this fatal shore, and also at the appearance of affairs here, and cannot express what passes in my mind on this occasion. With one of the most brave and noble armies that ever encountered an enemy, and upon whose

efforts Fortune has smiled; yet the general, of whom I know nothing but by report, has suffered three weeks to pass without striking at, or approaching the French; and this place is not even invested. If Rahmanhie is not attacked, or carried, which feeds Alexandria, how is the latter to fall, and how are we to join the Indian army, and communicate with Baird?

"What the devil does this Rahmanhie present such a frightful visage, that, like the Gorgon's head, it petrifies all spectators? Cannot it be masked, blockaded, and the army, or a strong detachment march up towards Cairo, to inquire after the Indians. We have heard that Sir James Craig is at their head; I wish it may be so, on every account. I see, however, nothing tried to bring things to an issue, and as to myself, I am endeavouring, if practicable, to be off from hence, where, I am sure, it is impossible for me to be of use. Why I am not again sent after Gantheaume seems strange, and I should be glad, if it were possible, to divest oneself of all reflection. Sir Richard has shewn me your papers, and I admire the character of Murad Bey much; and I should say, in the lines of Sheridan's Rolla. "He is a man. All are not men that wear the human form." Poor fellow! I wish the Porte would make him chief-governor of Egypt; it would be the best thing they could do. I hear you are recalled from the shore, which I am sorry for, as no one can assist or direct the operations and movements of our troops but you. I wish you may succeed in urging them to attempt anything, but eating and drinking. The men are most excellent, and it is a sad pity they should not be led on well. I have seen dispatches from Vienna and Con-

stantinople, the contents of which, will perhaps, surprise you, viz. :—The Emperor Paul, our quondam magnificent friend, had dismissed all his old ministers, given the knout to one of the French agents, and demanded the restitution and evacuation of Egypt by the French, and guaranteed it to the Porte, and ordered the English prisoners to be sent home—all this took place as unexpectedly as the part he had embraced in favour of France, when, behold he has died, and it is reported, suddenly ; and this, I believe, is authentic. With every good wish for your glory and success, I remain, my dear friend, ever sincerely yours,

"JOHN BORLASE WARREN."

Nothing could be more agreeable to Sir Sidney, or more acceptable to the vizier, than to add to the forces of the allies the powerful assistance of that brave chieftain Murad Bey, to accomplish which there was no difficulty; but so little is the stability of human affairs to be relied upon, that, at the very time that Sir J. Borlase Warren was writing his letter in praise of this superior Arab chief, Sir Sidney received the following letter from Osman Bey, announcing the death of his father, Murad Bey :—

Translation of a letter from Osman Bey Tambourdge, to Sir Sidney Smith, dated the 21*st of April,* 1801, *and received the* 5*th of May,* 1801.

OSMAN BEY TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"MY HONOURABLE AND DEAR FRIEND, SIDNEY SMITH BEY,

"Mourat Bey, our father, set out three days after having written to you his friendly letter, with the

hearty wish to join you. On the road he felt himself sick, and died in the moment he was about to write you another letter.

"The beys, cachefs, and Mamelukes, assembled in the camp, have elected me their chief in the place of Mourat, our most lamented father. They are all under my orders, and I shall stop here* for some days in order to collect more Mamelukes dispersed in the villages and in the country.

"We know very well that Mourat Bey was very much afraid of the Sublime Porte, and that he put himself under your protection. We are no less afraid, and you know that there is no power in the world in which we put more perfect confidence than in the court of Great Britain.

"We, and all our brethren, trust first in God Almighty, and then in you. We put ourselves entirely under your protection.

"We wish to stay with our children and our families at Cairo, under the orders of the Sublime Porte, and under the guarantee of the English. We are ready to obey and fulfil all the orders of the Sublime Porte, and to render you any kind of service. We respect the glory and dignity of the English, we prefer their friendship far above that of the seven kings of Europe.

"We send this letter by Abdallah Mograbi, and beg you very much to relieve, as soon as possible, our grief by a friendly letter. We shall move from this place on the 10th Zilkiggé (24th April) in order to join you.

(Signed) "Osman Bey. (L.S.)"

* Near Minich.

The following letter is without date and without signature, but it is clearly intended for his friend Lord Spencer.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM SIR SIDNEY TO LORD SPENCER.

"Tigre, Fenica Bay, on the coast of Caramania.

"I earnestly beg of your lordship that you will have the goodness to relieve me from the anxious state of mind I have been thrown into, first by the orders not to conclude the Egyptian business in the way I advised its being done, as the only way practicable with the inefficient means we had, and next by an official communication of his majesty's disapprobation of my conduct, conveyed through Lord Elgin, and through the commander-in-chief of the fleet, for having acted, as it is conceived, without being *authorised.*

"I am pursuaded that your lordship has been induced to form a very different judgment on that affair since, at least, if the documents I have sent home through those channels have been duly transmitted; but, if not, I beg to be informed, wherein the affair may still be obscure, as I pledge myself to throw such light on the subject, as will convince a man of your lordship's liberality and candour, that I could not do otherwise than I did; and the value I set on your friendship and good opinion is such, that I cannot feel satisfied, or otherwise than extremely uncomfortable, till your lordship has done me the favour to give me the opportunity to justify myself, or has given me the assurance that such justification is not necessary. I trust you will induce his majesty to recall the cen-

sure I am at present under, for having acted according to what I had every possible reason to conceive to be the intentions of government, as well from the spirit of your lordship's instructions, dated October, pointing out a disinterested line of conduct, as those contained in the very first dispatch I received from his Majesty's ambassador extraordinary, who had just come from the source of instruction. Lord Elgin's subsequent dispatches not only authorised, but required and urged me to accelerate the liberation of Egypt, enforcing in the strongest terms the necessity of allowing the Turks to conclude the business in any possible way consistent with their engagements with us.

"The extent of these engagements I was well acquainted with, neither was I a stranger to the flimsy tenure by which they were held on their part, in case the intrigues, by which their councils are beset, should succeed, or their fears be again awakened by Kleber's prevailing against their wretched army. It would not be fair in me to reason from events alone: my judgment was founded on the evidence arising from close observation, and an experience no other man had or could have; and my opinion was pronounced and placed upon record so early as February, when our first military conferences were held immediately after the signature of the treaty; it was, that the French army would withdraw by invitation, but could not be *driven* out by the forces we had to employ against them. I have seen no reason to change it, and though the necessity has arisen which I deprecated from the first, that of sacrificing our countrymen under the same disadvantage of climate and hardships that

the French have surmounted with incredible difficulty and loss.

"A convention of a similar nature to that of El Arish can alone, after all, extirpate them from the 'colony.' As to their utter extermination, consummate vengeance, &c., I had no difficulty in seeing that such a plan, originating in utter ignorance, to be executed only by consummate cruelty, could not proceed from England; nor can I conceive how any Englishman, not an atrocious Jacobin of the Robespierian school, can have penned or signed his name to such sentiments. At any rate, I knew I could not do wrong in overruling such a proposition, in a way to make the proposers never dare to consider me as likely to abet or suffer perfidy. I felt the utmost confidence, that the British government, the only bulwark that has saved Europe from the unprincipled cruelty of the baser part of mankind, never could condescend to imitate them; and yet, when the order came to me, to re-invade the territory of our ally with an armed force, and to throw the helpless part of them on shore and to the mercy of a fanatic populace, it was like a death-blow to me; and nothing but the personal knowledge I had, of the integrity and humanity of every individual member of administration, assured me against its being really meant as it appeared upon the face of it.

"An unprincipled Turk may censure me for not having let them evacuate Cairo, before I shewed Kleber the real nature of the obstacles in the way of his ultimate retreat; a young Machiavelian dabbler in politics may join in the criticism on this subject, and find fault with everything not done by himself, if he

pleases: but I appeal to a higher tribunal. I feel throughout my whole being, that *rectè agendo* I shall get through the most formidable and insurmountable difficulties; and however true it may be, that the French army, with which we have still to contend, would now be a set of skeletons, bleaching on the sand, if I had led them on step by step to perdition, as was certainly and evidently in my power, I pity the man that can wish it at the expense of our national honour. I may, in a future contest with them, find the nerved arm that shall lay my bones there in lieu. Be it so, I shall die without a pang on my mind, feeling I have done my duty to God and man—caring very little for existence in this world, if Buonaparte is to govern it. That he will not govern it, in the long run, I am as convinced as I am that God's providence does and will to the end prevail, however His wisdom and unerring laws may allow one devil to cast out another, till the worthy and kindred spirits alone are left. So long as I have anything to do with affairs, I certainly will not attempt to do evil that good may come of it, because I know the thing is as impossible as for wheat to grow where tares alone are sown.

"You, my dear lord, in your superior sphere, oppose the torrent of evil boldly, and speak such plain and intelligible language as emboldens others, by enabling them to feel they have a chief who will not desert them. This is the only way to succeed; it is the secret of my local success, which, thus explained, no longer astonishes: and I can only say, be the means and the powers given to me much or little, they shall be employed to their utmost extent; but then I must be

allowed to extend the hand of succour to a fallen enemy, or to embrace an honourable one, who, having fought long on equal terms, yields the point of contest without an abject surrender of it, which would thus lose half its value as coming from an ignoble hand, and I should labour without any gratification. This may be very romantic and chivalresque, but my friend Mr. Windham will agree with me, and admit that, considering all circumstances, I must ever regret Kleber, almost as much as if we had been friends instead of opponents; we had fought long enough to respect and understand each other. As to his successor Abdallah, he will take a good deal of beating before his dross is separated from him; and I am become eager to give it him, independent of the object of contest, since I have seen his character in the spirit of chicane, which he has manifested in the Jew bargain he has been endeavouring to drive respecting Captain Boyle's exchange, and his ill-treatment of that officer and the Cormorant's people as a mode of accelerating its conclusion; the miserable politician! Menou was commandant of Cairo during Kleber's absence on the coast, when the captain pasha's fleet made its appearance, and had closely confined the English officers as well as the men.

"Kleber's first act, on his return to Cairo, was to take out all the officers and divide them among his generals as guests, sending Menou one-third for his share, and giving the men the suburb of Gizé as their quarter, under no other restriction than the obligation to answer muster at . . . . : this was on the . . . . ; the next day Kleber was assassinated; and the same rigorous confinement was immediately revived by his suc-

cessor Menou, while he attempted, in a plausible style, to excuse himself from circumstances, by which I have obtained a proof, that *circumstances* guide him instead of his creating and directing them. He cannot have the confidence of that army, I am sure, composed as it is of gentleman-like men in the superior ranks, who never say *citoyen* by any accident; and good-humoured fellows of soldiers, who are too knowing to be duped any longer by Buonaparte's hyperbole, and too home-sick to enter into Abdallah's oriental speculations. Still, however, he may send them across the desert, to plunder the wreck of the vizier's camp, or levy contributions in Jerusalem; and I dare say he will.

"I have endeavoured to awaken the attention of the vizier to prevent mischief. I have continued my correspondence with General Koehler, in a way to shew him that I have but one object—the advantage of the service. I have sent Mr. Wright to rouse old Herod Djezzar, bidding him look out that the enemy do not land at Kaiffa, which is a plan of operation Buonaparte, who knows the country, would naturally direct if he sent an armament up. I have again endeavoured to appease a civil war in the mountains, which the French would not fail to profit by, if they knew as much of the disposition of the country as I do, and if I did not counteract them, as I have reserved to myself the means of doing, notwithstanding the censure for interference in the interior concerns of the state, which *everybody*, except Sultan Selim and the vizier, overwhelms me with. I have secured a regular supply of provisions from the rebellious district of the

island of Cyprus, to whose inhabitants I have restored a portion of the money they were plundered of, which the governor sent to me as hush-money, and have clearly proved to the enlightened part of the Ottoman ministry, that the real rebels in this country are those who, in defiance of Sultan Selim's benevolent intention towards his subjects, provoke rebellion by exaction and cruelty; the others cry out, of course; but even my superiors, who adopt the language of critics, must allow that it is of no small import to me, whether my ships are to be provoked to mutiny, by distress for provisions and the uncertainty of supplies, as was the case with the Theseus, to the derangement of all our means of co-operation with these helpless people.

"Thus I endeavour to go on *rectè agendo;* but I confess it is a very difficult task, where the greatest enmity is visible among those from whom I ought to look for friendship and support. I have had forbearance enough never to strike again. The *first* blow is an injury which I can only bear as being used to the worst, and which I can forgive, being a Christian as well as an armed knight. The *second* blow is the breach of the peace, reprehensible as such in the eye of the law, and what would let the enemy (the technical one I mean) in upon us to great advantage: this is the first time I have ventured to speak on this delicate subject even to you. I thought it unnecessary to refute calumnies, which those who echo them do not believe, though they forward them as making for their argument: virulence and rancour are so evident sometimes, as to carry their own antidote with

them, and not to require anything more than reproduction to be seen as such, and consequently standing for nothing but intemperate assertion. I really have other things to think of and to attend to, besides endeavouring to convince people of the falsehood of the assertions—that I contrived to get the vizier beaten, by advising him to go without cannon to take possession of Cairo, and trust to the good faith of the French. It is true I had both armies, as it were, dependent on my notification of the non-ratification, and if I had not given it to both, as nearly at the same time as I could, so as to ensure at least a parley and preparation previous to the rupture; if it was not to be prevented by my reasoning with the two parties, the advantage might have been thrown into that scale which I might have favoured to the prejudice of the other. It was my duty, as an honest man, to apprise *both* and prevent treachery, and this both sides acknowledge I did as became me; I mean those *who know*. And as to the vizier's artillery, if he could have carried it all with him, (which is evidently impracticable through the desert, or Buonaparte would not have risked and lost his at sea,) his highness would not have had *any* left now, for the gunners had sold almost all the powder to the Arabs for tobacco, and nobody stayed by the cannon to protect or be protected by them.

"I stipulate for nothing but the right to extend the hand of succour to a fallen enemy, and to repress the perfidy and cruelty of the Turks authoritatively: that authorisation is come, and I thank those who penned it with the most heartfelt gratitude; it relieved my

mind from a state of suffering not to be described, and shewed me that the confidence I felt internally in the liberality of government was well placed: their confidence in me is, I trust, no less so; but I own I find myself daily more and more circumscribed to the prejudice of our influence here, which, to be preserved, ought to be exerted with a high hand, or, more properly speaking, with a steady, even, and firm hand, so as to repress every partial interested measure operating to the prejudice of those adopted in the outset for the general cause. Nothing but my considering myself as empowered to assume, if not authority, at least superior rank to Djezzar, enabled me to direct that obstinate mule in the least; the deference he shewed me before his people, who had never seen him shew any to any body before, gave me a sort of authority over them, which if I had not had and exerted we should have had nothing done.

"I acted under the impression of the first conversation I had with your lordship, when you did me the honour to mention the idea of giving me the rank and influence, arising from my being furnished with *full powers*, and the title of minister plenipotentiary. The Tigre, your lordship will remember, was thrown into the scale in addition, on my requesting to have the means of going into battle in such a manner as to command by example as well as authority. I am accounting for the impression under which I acted, conceiving from what passed that the signature of the treaty, which was to be done by my brother whether I arrived in time or not, was not the primary object of my appointment. Your lordship is pleased to set me

right in that particular now, and to consider my ministerial and political powers to have expired with the signature of the treaty; and certainly, what your lordship considers to have been the case must be law to me. The rank, however, seemed to remain, according to your lordship's original idea, and evidently strengthened the impulse I had occasion to give to such proud obstinate beings as Djezzar and Mustapha Pasha and Fettah and Seid Ali Beys; and if I had not made use of the ascendency this idea gave me, even in the mind of the vizier, I do not hesitate to say my power would have been null, and the French army not only in Acre, but at Aleppo, if not further north. Much pains has been taken by our own countrymen to explain to these people that I am *le Capitaine Smith, commandant le Tigre*, though one would suppose they would have been glad to find our influence distinctly established for them to make use of, instead of beginning at the bottom of the hill to create another much against the grain. I shall not easily allow myself to be exiled into the ocean, till I hear of an enemy being to be found there; meanwhile I suffer no sort of diminution of my influence, having the *entrê* and the right to speak plain by custom and precedent, which is tantamount to the law of precedence in Turkey; and the captain pasha, whom I know intimately of old, never thought of expecting me to pay the first visit to his admirals, but sent them all to pay it me, as a matter of course, which establishes authority in the fleet, in case of our coming into critical service, which is to be expected."

The following is a reply from Lord Spencer to this, and to several other letters which he had received from Sir Sidney, and must on the whole have proved very satisfactory to him.

LORD SPENCER TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have now before me your letters of the 28th February, 13th and 17th March, 20th March, and the 15th June. The delay and irregularity, with which they have reached me, and the constant pressure of business under which I labour, (especially during the session of Parliament,) must be my excuse for not having more regularly or more speedily answered them. Now I have sat down for the purpose of acknowledging them, I feel it to be impossible to follow you, in detail, through the reasoning by which you explain the ground, and defend the principles, of your proceedings: I shall satisfy myself with saying, in general, that your explanations and defence are so far completely satisfactory to my mind, as to prove that you have throughout acted in the manner which to you appeared the best; and, though I think you seem to have been under an error, with respect to the continuation of your power as a plenipotentiary, (an error, by the by, into which I am not surprised that you were led by the communications you received from Lord Elgin,) and though I also differ considerably with you in the opinion you seem to have formed of the probable result of the return of Kleber's army into France, I cannot help allowing, that you acted upon very strong grounds, and that, upon the whole, if it had been possible that we *here* could have

been in complete possession of all those grounds, for the purpose of forming a determination on the subject, the convention of El Arish would most probably have been carried into execution.

"In a matter of this sort, any argument to be drawn from the event, after that event is known, is in my opinion to be laid out of the question; otherwise I think it would now be impossible for any one not to allow, that the policy of that convention was such as to recommend its ratification; but even without that additional ground in favour of your opinions and proceedings, I fairly think, and so thinking feel it due to you to say, that you have made out a very good case.

"If the accounts we have at present be well founded, there is no disposition on the part of the French to renew the convention, or anything like it. All the opinion I can venture to give upon that subject now is, that, as long as a French colony, whether armed or unarmed, (whether Turks or Pagans, so that they be but French, it is no matter,) shall remain in Egypt, it will be absolutely necessary for us to watch them most attentively, and to have a naval force on both sides of that country for that purpose. The mere circumstance of their possession of Egypt is nothing in comparison to the danger of their spreading almost in any direction, but especially to the eastward; and while that is upon the cards, we cannot be at rest.

"Believe me, dear Sir, your very faithful humble servant,

"SPENCER."

His lordship admits that Sir Sidney has made out a

very good case, and he cannot help thinking that he acted upon very strong grounds; and that, upon the whole, if those at home could have been in complete possession of all the grounds for the purpose of forming a determination on the subject, the convention of El Arish would, most probably, have been carried into execution. His lordship says, "all the opinion he can give on the subject of the French renewing the convention, or any thing like it, is, that there is no disposition on their part; and that, as long as a French colony, whether armed or unarmed, (whether Turks or Pagans, so that they be but French, it is no matter,) shall remain in Egypt, it will be absolutely necessary for us to watch them most attentively, and to have a naval force on both sides of that country for this purpose." All must agree with his lordship on that point; and also that "the possession of Egypt is trifling, in comparison with the danger of their spreading in any direction, but more especially to the eastward; for while that is on the cards, we cannot rest."

LORD KEITH TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Minotaur, off Genoa, 18th April, 1800.

"SIR,

"The secretary of the Admiralty having, in his letter to me of the 29th ultimo, expressed their lordships' apprehension, that some of the officers employed under the Turkish government might have it in contemplation (under colour of punishing the French for what they call their perfidious invasion of Egypt) to violate the convention entered into between the grand

vizier and General Kleber; and having also conveyed to me their lordships' assurances that such a measure would be extremely repugnant to the feelings and sentiments of his majesty and his government, who would not fail most positively to disavow any concurrence in so cruel and faithless a transaction; and their lordships having also most strictly directed me, not only to abstain from every means, which could even indirectly have a tendency to facilitate the accomplishment of such a design, and to instruct the officers employed under me to the same effect, but have also most positively charged me, and directed me to charge the officers acting under my orders, on the first manifestation of such an intention, if it really be meditated, to remonstrate in the most earnest and effectual manner, and to enter in his majesty's name the most solemn protest against its execution, I take an immediate opportunity of making you acquainted therewith, and desire that, if you see the most distant reason for apprehending the infliction of any acts of violence or cruelty on the persons of the French troops, or the followers of their army, who are included in the convention with the grand vizier, you fail not to adopt the most prompt and efficacious measures for averting, by every means in your power, the execution of so cruel and faithless a project; and that you not only remonstrate in the most earnest and efficacious manner, but that, in compliance with their lordships' orders, you protest in the most solemn terms, in his majesty's name, against the accomplishment of a measure which would infallibly involve all who could be implicated in it in indelible disgrace.

"You will therefore make the proper communications on this subject to the officers employed under your orders; but at the same time you will be extremely cautious of giving offence, either to the Turkish government or to the officers acting under them, unless existing circumstances should call for your interference, to avert the execution of a design, which would not fail to meet the most decided disavowal of his majesty and his government, from what authority soever it might proceed.

"I am, Sir, your most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) "KEITH."

Sir Sidney Smith was apprised of this long before such information had left London, and had prepared to crush the attempt if any such intention had ever been thought of; the whole tenor of his conduct being directed to the preservation of peace, and to get the French out of Egypt as quietly and comfortably as circumstances would admit. His letter of the 20th of February, from Cyprus to Lord Elgin, sets forth this feeling strongly; indeed, the whole of the letter is admirable, and does Sir Sidney the highest honour. The two letters addressed by him on that day to Lord Elgin, are already given in the present chapter.

The following is of a later date:—

TO THE EARL OF ELGIN.

"Tigre, Cyprus, July 3rd, 1800.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I lose not a moment, on my arrival at Cyprus, to let you know the state of the tiresome Egyptian question, of which, as you may suppose, I am heartily

tired, although I labour all I can to keep the ball, which has been rolled back on me, from entirely crushing us, determined as I ever have been to stem the Jacobin torrent, which still threatens to overwhelm the world, and to roll it back in its turn.

"Hurt, as I cannot but feel, at the loss which the opponents of the arch-revolutionist, Buonaparte, have to lament, by the assassination of Kleber, I find some hope left in the bottom of the cup, that the reasonable gentlemanlike men in that army, who supported him in the measure of evacuation, and the project of counteracting the usurper, will be found of sufficient weight to prevent the renegade, who has succeeded to the command, from realising the colonisation scheme, which was over-ruled by Kleber's firmness, and destroyed by the apprehension he contrived to create in the colonists themselves, lest they should not be able to keep their estates by an efficacious resistance of the apparently menacing attack. I wish they may not since have all entered equally deep into the speculation, for they know *now*, as I did *then*, that no effort of a Turkish army can dislodge them, and *they* cannot believe, what *I* almost doubt, that we can ever mean to pay so dear for the question, as to make the same sacrifice of men, to recover this granary of rice for our ally, that they did to obtain possession of it.

"I shall learn how they are disposed to a greater certainty, when my officer, Lieutenant Wright, returns from Cairo, whither I sent him with a second letter to Kleber, before I knew of the fatal catastrophe which gave Abdallah Menou the command of the army. My subsequent letter, of the 26th, is rather addressed

to the army, through the council of war, to which he must submit it, than to him, as I know the disposition of the principal officers, whom it will be easy to detach from a man they cannot respect: and this is our only game; for, however those who do not know the composition of the Turkish councils, or the real disposition of the powerful candidates for office, may ridicule the idea of their seceding from the alliance, and giving up the jurisdiction of Egypt to a Mahometan chief, who will promise to pay the old revenues to Mecca, and send coffee and rice to Jaffa, I once more stand forward and assert that the thing hangs by a thread; and, if I had not many proofs of it before, I have an additional and most conclusive one, when the captain pasha, to whom I have ever spoken plain enough to command his esteem, justifies himself to me for his past assertion, which may have been the case of late, though it was not then, that he has frequently stood alone in the divan, in opposing all political relations with the French.

"Abdallah Menou's style, the introduction of the denomination "*Osmanli*," in use only among the sectaries of Ali, not acknowledging the Ottoman jurisdiction, and his reproaching them as the authors of the assassination of Kleber, may alienate the northern Mahometans from him; still, however, all these hopes and 'may-be's' are far short of the certainty we had of getting this revolutionary colony on board transports, between the Tigre and Theseus, to be dispersed over France, at such times and places, and in such proportions, as might best suit our present views in that country, which they have as much at heart to realise,

as we have now that we have spoken out, and fairly said that Buonaparte is not a man we can ever make peace with.

"It is, as you say, useless to go into discussion on the past, when the present presses so hard upon us, when the reasoning we may make use of here on the spot is misunderstood at a distance, and when the orders given, in consequence of a new decision, cannot be applicable to the new state of things perpetually rising in these fluctuating times, and likely to exist after an interval of three months, which is the least time an answer can be expected. However the times may have fluctuated, I can never pursue any other line of conduct than that pointed out by the evident nullity of Turkish force, and as stated by me in the first conferences at Constantinople, when they detailed their projects and their means to me, after the signature of the treaty, adopted by the Porte and not disapproved by our government, or likely to be so now that experience has proved it to be the only one practicable to recover Egypt; namely, to press as hard upon them as possible, with such means as we can bring forward, short of exposing those means to total annihilation, and at the same time to endeavour to draw the army over to us, by affording them a secure retreat collectively, individually protecting their persons from all violence, and resisting the sanguinary projects of all those, who, ignorant of the art and nature of modern war, and the indifference of French military men to the grounds of the quarrel, talk of extermination, consummate vengeance, and I know not what impracticable and dishonourable plans, which I should have hoped,

for the honour of our country, were confined to the Jacobin tribunes, and excluded from our superior and liberal system of war, for security and security only, plans which are besides utterly impossible, as exasperating and uniting the enemy.

"I did not mean to go into any retrospect, but the question has intruded on us again, in a most disagreeable point of view, and is one which must ever command my attention, from a knowledge of what it is to be kept as a hostage, liable from day to day to be led to public execution, which I was threatened with, in case any one distant agent of our government should irritate the villains, in whose hands I was, by his language, or give them a justification, by adoption of any measure which might provoke reprisals. Captain Courtney Boyle, and 149 Englishmen, are now in this disagreeable predicament, as you will see by the correspondence on the questions, which I have transmitted to the admiral, and which I send to the Admiralty in obedience to their orders.

"The direct route to London, from the present position of the Tigre, being through Constantinople, I can, without delaying it, give myself the satisfaction of submitting them to your perusal in the way, and thereby, at the same time that I thus acquit myself towards you by giving you the necessary information, I can, without multiplying copies, for which I have neither time nor mechanical assistance, supply the deficiency there may be in Mr. Morier's communication, from his having been in a manner thrown out of direct correspondence on the question, by the insolent style of the only answer he has received to his notification of the

fresh orders given to the fleet in the Mediterranean. I likewise send copies of those orders, by which your lordship will see the degree of latitude given to me by my commander-in-chief, obviating the informality alluded to in Lord Grenville's despatch to your lordship, of which a copy was brought to me by Colonel Bromley, in Hammer's writing. The restriction in the latter paragraph of that despatch would have rendered my going to Jaffa, till I had received this authorization from the admiral, of very little utility.

"Your letters of the 29th of May and 2nd of June, brought by the colonel, not giving me any further latitude, but your note to him being more explicit, I considered *that* as ground sufficient for me to go to the camp, and confer with the vizier, in expectation of obtaining more light there, as you seemed to have adopted that channel of correspondence with me, instead of sending directly to my rendezvous, Rhodes being given expressly to Bromley, as well as to the fleet, as a centre of precise information in case I should not be there myself, and the Scampavia being appropriated to that service, as best calculated to supply the place of the long-promised Turkish Cirlangitihs, which sort of vessel is the only one suited for the Archipelago. The delay in Bromley's arrival was no inconvenience, as it happened, as I could not proceed to extricate the vizier out of the dilemma into which the Reis Effendi's intemperate language had again thrown him, without the authorization which arrived in the Peterel the day after my arrival at Jaffa. The loss of the despatches in the Cormorant (wrecked on Cape Durlos) is repaired by the wise precaution of sending duplicates, and my

anxiety was then relieved; still, however, I find myself under an implied censure, from which I trust to you to relieve me, for the word 'unauthorized' never can remain applied to me, if your lordship has the goodness to transmit copies of what passed originally on the subject, wherein I was not only authorized, but required and urged, *by you*, to bring matters to a conclusion in Egypt, in any way that the Porte might choose to terminate it. It would be most proper for your lordship to be the person to correct this error in the minds of the ministers; at any rate, I cannot sit down quietly under it, for I *could* not refer to the commander-in-chief, when you urged me not to let the French gain time; and when necessity urged the conclusion, still more on the spot, it proved your first view of the question to have been the right one.

"Your lordship's sincere and faithful friend,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following extract of a letter (marked X.) is from Lord Rivers, the firm and unchangeable friend of Sir Sidney, addressed to the uncle of the hero, General Edward Smith, a most kind-hearted man, enthusiastic in all that regarded his nephew, but somewhat eccentric. Lord Rivers almost adored Sir Sidney Smith, and was ever ready to promote his views, in every possible way that his character and influence could accomplish. His lordship strove hard to keep down the unguarded language of the general, whenever the warmth of his affection for his nephew passed the bounds of propriety and moderation.

LORD RIVERS TO GENERAL SMITH.

"Stratfieldsay, Sept. 21, 1800.

"MY DEAR FRIEND,

"If the summit of honour and of reputation (as a man of consummate wisdom and conduct as a negotiator, and of true benevolent heroism) can exalt a man, surely our dear beloved Sidney is too far above his enemies to regard the worst that is in their power; and if, as you seem to apprehend, 'his friends are lighter than those enemies,' by *being his friends they* are also exalted, however their hopes may be frustrated.

"I confess, therefore, that I am quite easy about him, and I am almost inclined to think, if it were *possible* he should continue to be neglected, that even that neglect will exalt him.

"With these sentiments, you will not be surprised that I should feel upon this subject in a way which, perhaps, may not appear natural or common. His 'cause' is by no means *common*, and does not appear (to *me*, at least) to require being 'carried on' like any other. It would be making you, my dear friend, a sad compliment, to put the smallest restraint upon the expression of my opinion, on a matter of this extraordinary and unusual nature; and, therefore, I neither have avowed, nor can I scruple to avow, what I think, though it may, in some degree, differ from your thoughts upon the subject. It is, therefore, my honest opinion, that the exertions of our Sidney's friends can avail nothing with those, who are fully acquainted with his merit, and want no incitement to the rendering him every degree and species of justice. Why they have

done this in so public and so signal a manner in *words*, and nothing in *deeds*, is certainly unaccountable; but they are *bound* by those words more effectually than they can be *persuaded* by the strongest solicitations; and therefore perfect silence may have more efficacy, as it undoubtedly has more of that superiority and dignity, which belong to and become such a cause. This refers only to honours and rewards, which, it must be allowed, our friend possesses of his own acquirement, and of which no power can deprive him.

"With respect to the vain attempts *abroad*, to injure his reputation, they must and do recoil upon their authors, and there can be no doubt of their being *seen here* in their true colours, without exhibiting any complaints of them. The same may safely be said respecting the unfortunate treatment of *his* wise and able negotiation for the evacuation of Egypt. It is now known, by the fatal consequences of its disavowal, to what a degree it *was* wise and able, and how impossible and impolitic to judge and to control the actions of such a man, or indeed almost any man, from such a distance. If this be *known* and tacitly *felt*, and that, perhaps, with no small remorse, (if one may judge of others by oneself,) it must be extremely painful to be made to feel it still more intensely, and that, too, by those, who must be interested and hurt by the mistaken conduct they have adopted. This brings me to Mr. Keith's letter, several parts of which must have been extremely painful, not to say more. 'The *illiberal* conduct of government,' and the repeated charge of 'illiberality' is strongly urged in that letter, and it requires a greater portion of philosophy, can-

dour, and self-denial to feel very easy under such an imputation, however conscious of its truth. Whoever takes upon them to communicate such sentiments must be supposed to adopt them; and I will not scruple to confess to you, my good friend, that I had rather adopt and communicate the candid and noble *language* of our Sidney than that of his secretary, lest, coming from the latter, it should be suspected of being *that* of his principal. In Sir Sidney's letter to yourself, of the 19th June, which I now return, he says that 'he has the utmost confidence in the Christian part of his supports, and, above all, in the certainty of the *liberality* of *administration*, which he serves with double pleasure,' &c. It is this generous and manly turn of thought, this candid and disinterested spirit, which makes me always anxious to communicate *his* letters. They do great honour, and, above all, justice to his superior mind; whilst I cannot but fear that letters of a *different tendency* injure both the writer and the cause. These are my motives for declining their communication, and not the smallest reluctance in expressing my honest sentiments to the 'great,' let them be as great as they may.

(Signed) "RIVERS."

FROM LORD RIVERS TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

No. 3, Charles Street, St. James's Square, London.

"MY DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"Long ere this reaches you, I hope you will have received my letter, *viâ* Lord Keith, of the date 4th of

July, giving you a full account of things as they then stood. I am sorry to say that my statement, to Mr. Dundas, of your glorious convention has been fully proved, and every consequence foretold of the fatal events which have, and could not fail to follow from such mistaken politics. The world is now convinced, even your particular friends, that your judgment and merit upon that occasion are, if possible, more brilliant than your defence of Acre; and it is universally allowed, that you alone have taught the first consul that he is not invincible in the field; and the sensible part of mankind feel the strongest conviction, that you would have foiled him also in the cabinet, if your measures had been adopted.

"In a late conference with the *angel speaker*, he expressed his surprise and regret, that you have not officially acknowledged the receipt of his letter, enclosing the thanks of the House of Commons, as he wished much to have had it before the parliament was prorogued. He, in a distant manner, insinuated, as far as his situation would permit, that something handsome was intended for you, which I earnestly trust will soon be realised. None of us can complain or expect any thing until honours and substantials are conferred from the fountain-head. Your father and Mrs. Delamain are here, in South Moulton-street; she wishes much to get him to Dover.

"I enclose you herewith a packet from Mrs. Delamain, the contents relative to which I hope you will have heard; I truly and sincerely condole with you for the loss of a mother, whom I know you justly adored, but it is a fate we all must submit to, and

really I believe her sufferings latterly were such, that existence could hardly be desired by herself."

Not signed, but, no doubt, from his excellent friend, Lord Rivers.

The following extract of a letter must have caused much distress to Sir Sidney, who had a great affection for his mother, and highly esteemed her :—

A Letter addressed to Mr. Spencer Smith, signed Geo. Cooke, and dated London, September 6, 1800.

"You have, of course, received accounts from home of the death of your mother two months ago, and that a will was found by searching the house, leaving all she had to Sidney. The last words she said were to Mr. Hay, that she had neglected, or had something she ought to settle, with regard to her affairs. He went to the table for pen, ink, and paper, and upon turning round again towards her, he found her dead."

As a specimen of General Smith's style, may be given a portion of one of his letters addressed to Lord Rivers :—

GENERAL EDWARD SMITH TO LORD RIVERS.

"The fire of your pen delights me; its elegant energy on Sidney's peculiar case is a perfect indulgence to every sense I have, so cold and indifferent as I grow to every boon on earth. How can I change my sensations, when I see my nephew set to work again under the equivocating pen, required to enter

the field of treaty, under the galling stigma of unauthorization on the prior convention, which, once more again to attain, is now the summit of conviction of all the foresighted perfection of that (implied unauthorized treaty) test of Sidney's diplomatic talents, foresight of England's honour and commercial advantages, humanity, and policy,—all washed away in blood, and I fear (for I believe) it unattainable, by the consequent victory of Kleber and *cession* of Cairo to his arms. I am confident in the philanthropic ardour of Sidney's virtuous heart, I am persuaded of the hero's disdain of all the effects of responsibility, I *know* his soul is God's, his life's spirit England's, and no ill usage can tarnish the glory of his existence, 'the pure service of his king and country.' This, then, achieved, so far as he shall now have attained under all the perverted (happy) circumstances of the first treaty, he seeks, he asks, he requires leave then to come home, and wash down at Bath the very choking bitterness of ingratitude, and so restore his feelings and his health, so as to fit himself for a new *game* on a new score; for I am sure the old one will be the pride of posterity, as most brilliant in all its circumstances, even in this area of British heroism and policy. Excuse this fated prolixity of my miserable pen, my o'erflowing heart drowns my senses, (and my reader, too, I fear;) I am sure I could safely say so to any other man alive but Lord Rivers, but your two letters have opened my inmost heart, where I see the sincerity and affection with which I am, my dearest friend, your devoted and sincere

"E. Smith."

The following extracts are from a few of the numerous letters of Lord Rivers and other friends, expressing their sympathies with the disappointment Sir Sidney had experienced :—

Extract of a Letter addressed to Lieutenant-General Smith, Hotwells, Bristol; signed Rivers, and dated London, May 27th, 1800.

"I cannot have the smallest conception of what government can mean, if all we hear be true, and I still confess myself *incredulous*, for it would be madness to risk what the enclosed wisely pronounces would be the consequence of not ratifying the convention. Nothing could be better received (at the great *dinner*) than the health of Sir Sidney, by all present, ministers and all, and that immediately after the royal family, and consequently before the heroes of India."

Extract of a Letter addressed to Lieutenant-General Smith; signed Rivers, and dated Stratfieldsaye, May 28th, 1800.

"I need not say how much I am flattered by your confidence, and how sincerely I wish that I could be in any manner instrumental in removing the *present cause* of uneasiness. *Truth* must ultimately prevail, and I confess that I have no fears of the result; relying, as I always must, upon the calm dignified forbearance and patience of my friend Sir S., who may safely wrap himself up in the conscious rectitude of his conduct, and in the extraordinary and *superior* testimony that has been repeatedly and publicly avowed and proclaimed of his most valuable and heroic exploits. He

must be a madman who will attempt to sully such a character so supported! Adieu, my dear friend. In haste, yours affectionately,

"RIVERS."

Extract of a Letter addressed to Lieutenant-General Smith, Hotwells, Bristol; signed Rivers, and dated Stratfieldsaye, August 16th, 1800.

"I confess myself to have, at this moment, my heart and my mind so full and so much affected by all that *is*, as well as that *is not* going on, that I cannot refrain from thus disburthening them at this moment. As to *what is* going on at Constantinople, I know too much of the world, and of mankind, to be much surprised at it; upon a certain subject I will not answer for being able to hold my tongue. I feel for Sidney as I should for a son, and it may perhaps become a friend still better than a father to give vent to those feelings. At all events, our noble Sidney is (thank heaven!) above mortal reach; and they who are bold enough or mad enough either to attack or neglect him, place themselves under his feet, let their exaltation be what it may."

Extract of a Letter addressed to Lieutenant-General Smith, Hotwells, Bristol; signed Rivers, and dated Stratfieldsay, August 17th, 1800.

"I come now to the very important resolution of return, *bon gré mal gré*. I cannot wonder at nor condemn it, and shall, be the consequence what it may, sincerely rejoice to embrace him. In short, I have

turned this resolution and its result a thousand times in my thoughts, since yesterday that I received it, and I repeat, that it is impossible to condemn it. What effect it will produce it is not easy to foresee; but surely there does not exist an Englishman of real virtue, who can forget his services, or a man of spirit in the country, who will not feel and even resent any indignity that may be offered to such a character, from whatever quarter it may proceed. At all events, he is and ever must be above 'what man can do unto him.'"

Extract of a Letter addressed to J. Spencer Smith, Esq., Constantinople; signed W. H. Bourne, and dated London, Tuesday night, 11th November, 1800.

"You have doubtless long ere this found that the surmise of a successor having been appointed to Sir Sidney was correct. I will not say I am sorry for it, as I fear his presence here is requisite to obtain the remuneration which almost every man in the empire, except the cabinet ministers, require should be given to him; and even the ministers, when spoken to separately, are each ashamed to admit, that he is an impediment to rescue the national character from the general charges of ingratitude and injustice."

Extract of a Letter addressed to J. S. Smith, Esq., Constantinople; signed W. H. Bourne, and dated 2nd December, 1800.

"Our friend Douglas dined yesterday with the Scotch Society, to which he had been some time invited by a delegation. I regretted I could not go, as

he was received with marked attention, and Sir S. spoken of as he deserves. A song (a copy of which I will send to you) was well introduced, highly complimentary to Lords Nelson and Spencer, Sir Sidney Smith, and Sir J. Douglas. The latter returned his thanks, and after a short good compliment to Lord Nelson, said of Sir Sidney, that he believed there was not any other person who would have attempted the defence of Acre, but he would venture to say, that he (Sir Sidney) was the only man living who could have effected it. He was heard with much approbation, and Lords Spencer and Nelson, with the Duke of Montrose, the chairman, (whom Douglas after some time succeeded,) were particularly loud in approval and in supporting his praise."

This chapter, with the two preceding ones, embrace the whole of the transactions and exploits performed by, or under the direction of, Sir W. Sidney Smith in the Levant Sea and at St. Jean d'Acre ; and, it may be added, performed with very little assistance. The more indeed his acts and conduct are contemplated, the more extraordinary they appear. If we look back to the history of this single spot in the Holy Land, St. Jean d'Acre, it will be found to have been, on many occasions, a contested prize, for the acquisition of which many thousands of human lives have been sacrificed, and for little or no good purpose. On the present occasion, however, the destruction of human life was moderate—very small as compared with that which happened when Richard Plantagenet proceeded on his crusades to the Holy Land.

St. Jean d'Acre, from a very early period, was the scene of slaughter. Guy de Lusignan, when released from prison, proposed to himself the recovery of Ptolemaïs, or Acre, from Saladin and the Saracens, and invested the place with two thousand horse and thirty thousand foot. The siege lasted near two years. Nine battles, not unworthy of the name, were fought in the neighbourhood of Mount Carmel, and in one attack the Christians forced their way into the city, and in one sally the Saracens penetrated to the king's tent. In the spring of the second year the royal fleets of France and England cast anchor in the bay of Acre, and the siege was more vigorously prosecuted, by the youthful emulation of the two kings, Philip Augustus and Richard Plantagenet. After every resource had been tried, and every hope exhausted, the defenders of Acre submitted to their fate. A capitulation was granted, but their lives and liberties were taxed at the hard conditions of a ransom of two hundred thousand pieces of gold, the deliverance of one hundred nobles, and fifteen hundred inferior captives, and the restoration of the wood of the holy cross. So we learn from Gibbon.

We are told by Hume, that when Saladin refused to ratify the capitulation of Acre, Richard ordered all his prisoners, to the number of five thousand,* to be butchered; and that the Saracens found themselves obliged to retaliate upon the Christians by a like cruelty.

* It was not for deeds like this that Richard procured the epithet of the Lion-hearted—Richard Cœur de Lion.

CHAPTER II.

PUBLIC HONOURS AND CONGRATULATIONS ON HIS RETURN TO ENGLAND.

FRIENDLY RECEPTION, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.—CONGRATULATORY ADDRESSES FROM VARIOUS BODIES.—IS RETURNED TO PARLIAMENT FOR ROCHESTER.— HIS CONDUCT ON MR. WINDHAM'S MOTION RESPECTING THE CASE OF CAPTAIN WRIGHT.—PRIVATE LETTERS.

1801—1803.

On Sir Sidney's arrival in London, on 10th November, 1801, as before mentioned, the commodore, after the brilliant career of three years of indefatigable and unremitting services, of no ordinary description, in Egypt and the Levant Sea, and more particularly in that glorious exploit of the defence of St. Jean d'Acre, against the numerous assaults of the French army, with Buonaparte at its head, and their total discomfiture by an undisciplined body of Turks, encouraged, assisted, and instructed by the officers, seamen, and marines of two British ships of the line, under the direction and management of Captain Sir William Sidney Smith—after all this had been accomplished, nothing less could be expected than that this gallant officer would be received, by all ranks of his countrymen, with a degree of enthusiasm rarely, if ever, equalled ; and such, indeed, was the reception he met with. Addresses and congratulations poured in upon him from all quarters ; and feasts and entertainments from public bodies and

private individuals left him not much leisure time to spare, a portion of which was demanded by ministers, more especially by his early and steady friends, Lords Grenville and Spencer.

There was, however, much to explain, and much to make allowance for, particularly on the part of government, which had undoubtedly committed the irreparable fault of disavowing some of his public acts, and thereby plunging the country into a series of expenses for expeditions, which, after all, did not produce as much advantage for England as would have been obtained by the memorable treaty of El Arish, concluded without any expense to England; while the affair of Alexandria incurred a great cost of blood and treasure in consequence of it, by the renewal of hostilities, and by the expeditions under the command of Sir Ralph Abercromby and Lord Hutchinson.

Mr. Pitt was very frank with Sir Sidney upon these matters, and took occasion to enter into an explanation of their having disavowed the first treaty, which he defended upon the plea of the conclusion of it not having been made known to the cabinet at the time, which no doubt it could not; and alleging, secondly, that it was not supposed by them that he (Sir Sidney) had the powers necessary to conclude any treaty; an avowal which was the more surprising, as Lord Spencer and Lord Grenville must have known what were the powers they invested him with. These powers Sir Sidney recalled to the recollection of Mr. Pitt. He pointed out to him the nature of his commission of minister plenipotentiary; he told him that the tenor of his instructions, under that commission, was to make

a merit with the Ottoman Porte, and to satisfy him that Great Britain required nothing for herself; and that he was to use his best endeavours, in co-operation with the Turkish forces, to recover Egypt from the possession of the French, and restore it to the Sultan, our ancient ally; and that the treaty was made by the Grand Vizier and General Kleber.

Such, he told him, were the instructions under which he had acted; and he could not avoid complaining to Mr. Pitt, how extraordinary it was, that the manner in which he had executed those instructions appeared to have been altogether overlooked, or looked at only to condemn. He had not signed any treaty whatever himself; all he had done was to witness a treaty made between Turkey and the French army of Egypt, by which the recovery of that country was secured to our ancient ally. No one could certainly deny the competency of Turkey to conclude such a treaty. Mr. Pitt seemed ready to acknowledge the truth of this, and ended the conversation by complimenting the skill, the exertions, and the bravery of Sir Sidney Smith.

A young naval officer, whose name had been so much and so favourably before the public, and who, since his return, had been almost constantly under the eye of the public, could scarcely be expected to escape the solicitations of one party or other, at the eve of a general election, to become a candidate for a seat in parliament. A dissolution had just occurred, and in the early part of the year 1802 he received a strong invitation from the leading men of Rochester, to allow his name to be put up as a candidate for that borough. On the 12th May, 1802, therefore, he put forth the following address:—

"TO THE FREEMEN OF THE CITY OF ROCHESTER.

"London, May 12, 1802.

"GENTLEMEN,

"Invited in such flattering terms, by so large a portion of your respectable body, I cannot hesitate in avowing my determination to close with the offer that is made me, of becoming your representative in parliament at the next general election, should a majority declare in my favour, it being understood that the Hon. Henry Tufton declines.

"The naval relations of your ancient city, placed, too, in the county of Kent, where my connexions lay—in short, every consideration I have given the subject, decides my preference, and fixes my resolution to avail myself of your favourable disposition towards me. I hope I do not stand in opposition to the well-founded claims of any other candidate: I am incapable of usurping the rights of any other gentleman; my expectations rest upon your kindness and my known public character, without intending offence or injury in any other quarter. My political creed is the English constitution, my party the nation. Highly as I prize the honour of becoming your representative, I will not purchase even that, or any other distinction, by renouncing an atom of my independence; and if anything in my professional career has tended to excite those sentiments in you, which create in me a corresponding feeling, I trust you will find that, in the exercise of a legislative function I shall not forfeit any portion of your esteem. This I am sure of, that if you do me the honour to put this great

trust into my hands, I will, to the best of my judgment, discharge it like an honest man.

"I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

"Your faithful and devoted servant,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

He was returned, and took his seat on the opening of parliament.

The lord mayor, aldermen, and commoners of the city of London, in common council assembled, had passed resolutions of thanks, &c., in October, 1799, to Sir Sidney Smith, the British officers, seamen, and troops under his command, for their gallant defence of the city of St. Jean d'Acre.

Speedily after his return to London, the corporation of London, anxious to exhibit a proof of their admiration of the gallant achievements of Sir Sidney Smith at the seige of Acre, resolved to bestow upon him the freedom of their ancient city, and to accompany it with the present of a valuable sword. On the 7th inst. the naval hero attended at Guildhall, in order to be invested with the civic privileges, of which he had been deemed worthy, and to receive the symbol of valour he had so justly merited.

The lord mayor, the chamberlain, and several of the aldermen were ready to receive him. He made his appearance between one and two, and was ushered into the chamberlain's office. The lord mayor received him with the utmost courtesy, and introduced him to Mr. James Dixon, the gentleman who had done himself the honour of voting the thanks of the court of common

council in his favour. The chamberlain then addressed the distinguished officer in the following terms :—

"Sir Sidney Smith,—I give you joy, in the name of the lord mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common council assembled, and present you the thanks of the court for your gallant and successful defence of St. Jean d'Acre, against the desperate attack of the French army under the command of General Buonaparte. And, as a further testimony of the sense the court entertains of your great display of valour on that occasion, I have the honour to present you with the freedom of the city, and this sword. [*Sir Sidney received the sword, and pressed it with fervour to his lips.*] I will not, sir, attempt a panegyric upon an action to which the first oratorical powers in the most eloquent assemblies have been confessed unequal, but I cannot help exulting, on this happy occasion, at the vast acquisition national reputation has acquired by your conduct, at the head of a handful of Britons, in repulsing him who has been justly styled the Alexander of the day, surrounded by a host of conquerors, till then deemed invincible. By this splendid achievement you frustrated the designs of the foe on our East Indian territories, prevented the overthrow of the Ottoman power in Asia, the downfall of its throne in Europe, and prepared the way for that treaty of peace which, it is devoutly to be wished, may long preserve the tranquillity of the universe, and promote friendship and good-will among all nations. It must be highly gratifying to every lover of his country, that this event should have happened on the very spot, where a gallant English monarch formerly displayed such prodigies of

valour, that a celebrated historian, recording his actions, struck with the stupendous instances of prowess displayed by that heroic prince, suddenly exclaimed, 'Am I writing history or romance?' Had, sir, that historian survived to have witnessed what has recently happened at St. Jean d'Acre, he would have exultingly resigned his doubts, and generously have confessed, that actions, no less extraordinary than those performed by the gallant Cœur de Lion, have been achieved by Sir Sidney Smith." [*This speech was followed by universal acclamations.*]

Sir Sidney Smith thus replied:—

"Sir,—Unconscious that I should have been thought worthy of being addressed by you on the part of the city of London, in terms of such high and unqualified approbation, I am but ill prepared for replying in a manner adequately to express the sentiments with which I am impressed. My confidence would be lessened, did I not feel that I was surrounded by friends who are dear to me, and whose approbation I am proud to have received. It shall be the object of my future life to merit the panegyric you have been pleased to pronounce in my favour. For the freedom of your city, with which you have honoured me, I return you my sincere thanks, and shall implicitly conform to all the obligations annexed to it. Above all, I accept this sword as the most honourable reward which could have been conferred on me. In peace it will be my proudest ornament, and in war I trust I shall be ever ready to draw it in defence of my country, and for the protection of the city of London." [*Loud applause.*]

Sir Sidney Smith then took the usual civic oaths; and having made a liberal donation to the poor's box, departed amidst the acclamations of the populace.

In April, 1802, the Turkey Company presented to Sir Sidney Smith a magnificent piece of plate in the form of a vase, highly wrought and decorated, the top terminating with the figure of an alligator; and on one side is the following inscription:—

"Presented by the governor and company of merchants of England, trading into the Levant seas, to Captain Sir William Sidney Smith, of his majesty's navy, Knight of the Royal Swedish Order of the Sword, as an acknowledgment for the signal services rendered to his country, by his unparalleled defence of the ancient and important town of St. Jean d'Acre, when, with a small band of British seamen co-operating with the efforts of the Turkish garrison, he enabled that feeble and ill-constructed fortress to withstand, for the space of sixty days, the repeated and obstinate attacks of an enemy, formidable from numbers and discipline, accustomed to unvarying success, and led on by Buonaparte in person, thereby totally defeating the object of that general's expedition, and finally forcing him to retreat, with the loss of one-third of his army."

At a future period, and in his absence, the Levant Company, through Lord Grenville, their governor, gave Sir Sidney notice of a gratuity of 1500*l.*, as a testimonial of their high opinion of his valuable services to their commercial concerns in the Levant:—

LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Hamilton Place, March 14, 1817."

"SIR,

"I have the satisfaction of acquainting you that the Levant Company, entertaining a lively sense of the great benefits which resulted to the interests of the British empire in general, and more especially to the security of the British commerce in the Levant, from your brilliant and distinguished services in that quarter, and deeply regretting to learn that the circumstances of your present situation are such as to render such a testimony of their gratitude and respect desirable to you, have unanimously agreed to request your acceptance of the sum of fifteen hundred pounds; and that their treasurer, Mr. Green, has accordingly been directed to hold that sum at your disposal.

"It is particularly gratifying to me that it falls to my lot, as governor of the company, to make to you the official communication of this determination, reflecting, in my judgment, equal honour on the body making this liberal acknowledgment, and on the individual by whose services it has been merited.

"I have the honour, &c., with great truth and regard, sir, your most faithful and most obedient humble servant, GRENVILLE."

J. GREEN TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Levant Company's Office, London, March 14, 1817.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to acquaint you, that, by direction of a general court of the Levant Company, I hold the

sum of one thousand five hundred pounds (1500*l.*) at your disposal.

"I have the honour to be with respect, sir, your obedient servant,

"J. GREEN, *Treasurer.*"

J. GREEN TO SIR ROBERT LISTON.

"Thursday, March 13, 1817, half-past 12 o'clock.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint you that the company have authorised me to pay the sum of 1500*l.* for the use of your friend. The deputy-governor is to consult the governor as to the manner in which it is to be done. You will, for the present, please to consider this note *confidential,* as I must guard against the governor's thinking I wish to take to myself a credit which attaches to himself. I have only in view to put you in possession of that which I am sure will be highly gratifying to your feelings.

"In haste, but most respectfully, I remain, my dear sir, your obedient servant,

"J. GREEN."

At a dinner given by the Levant Company at the City of London Tavern, on Saturday, the 22nd of March, 1817, to Sir Robert Liston, G.C.B., &c., Lord Grenville in the chair, his lordship rose and said,—

"Gentlemen,—I propose to you the health of a friend of mine, Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, of whose great and important services to his country I need not

speak. This company have proved the high estimation in which they hold them. They have done that which is worthy of all great and generous minds. They have shewn that meritorious services are not obliterated from their memories, however ancient their date; and I will venture to say in his absence, what I know he would express were he present, that the remembrance of your kindness can never be obliterated from his mind."

Present, as Lord Grenville's friends, the Marquis of Buckingham and Lord Fortescue.

The following were received in April, after his arrival in London:—

HUGH INGLIS TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"East India House, April 7, 1801.

"SIR,

"It is with extreme satisfaction that I transmit, for your information, a resolution in your favour passed by the court of directors of the East India Company; and it affords me additional pleasure to state that the said resolution has been sanctioned by a vote of the general court of proprietors: and you will be pleased to inform Mr. Ramsay, secretary to the court of directors, to whom the money should be paid.

"With the warmest admiration of your professional talents and gallantry, and the sincerest wishes for your health and happiness, I have the honour to be, with the most perfect regard, sir, your most obedient, humble servant,

"HUGH INGLIS, *Chairman.*"

THE RESOLUTION.

At a Court of Directors held on Thurdsay, the 2nd of April, 1801,

"RESOLVED,—That the thanks of this court be given to Sir William Sidney Smith, for his gallant, able, and distinguished services to the country at large, by which the interests of the East India Company have been essentially promoted; and that he be requested to accept the sum of three thousand pounds, as a testimony of the grateful sense the East India Company entertain of his extraordinary services."

In January, 1803, his majesty, after enumerating Sir Sidney's various achievements and the honours bestowed upon him by the king of Sweden and the Ottoman emperor, was graciously pleased to grant him certain honourable augmentations to the armorial ensigns borne by his family, and to allow him to bear certain supporters to his arms, all of which, as a special mark of his royal favour, to be registered in his college of arms :—

"The king has been graciously pleased, in consideration of the signal and very distinguished services performed to his majesty, and to his ally the Ottoman emperor, by Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight Commander and grand cross of the royal Swedish military Order of the Sword, a captain in the royal navy, and representative for the city of Rochester in the parliament of the United Kingdom; and to evince the sense which his majesty entertains of the great ability and heroic perseverance manifested by him, the said Sir William Sidney Smith, upon divers occasions, and

more especially of his able and highly distinguished conduct in the defence of the town of St. Jean d'Acre, in Syria, in the year 1799, to grant his royal license and authority that he may bear the following honourable augmentations to the armorial ensigns borne by his family; viz. on the chevron *a wreath of laurel, accompanied by two crosses of Calvary;* and, on a chief of augmentation, *the interior of an ancient fortification, in perspective; in the angle a breach;* and on the sides of the said breach *the standard of the Ottoman empire, and the union flag of Great Britain,* as then displayed; and, for crest, *the imperial Ottoman chelengk or plume of triumph, upon a turban,* in allusion to the highly honourable and distinguished decoration transmitted by his said imperial majesty to Sir William Sidney Smith, in testimony of his esteem, and in acknowledgment of his meritorious exertions in the aforesaid defence; and the family crest, viz. a leopard's head, collared and lined, *issuant out of an oriental crown.* The said arms and crests to be borne by him, the said Sir William Sidney Smith, and by his issue, together with the motto 'Cœur de Lion.' And, although the privilege of bearing supporters be limited to the peers of the realm, the knights of his majesty's orders, and the proxies of princes of the blood royal at installations, except in such cases wherein, under particular circumstances, his majesty has been pleased to grant his especial license for the use thereof, yet, in order to give a further testimony of his majesty's particular approbation of the services of the said Sir William Sidney Smith, he has been graciously pleased to allow him

to bear, for supporters to his arms, *a tiger guardant, navally crowned; in the mouth a palm branch,* being the symbol of victory, *supporting the union flag of Great Britain, with the inscription* 'JERUSALEM, 1799,' *upon the cross of St. George; and a lamb, murally crowned; in the mouth an olive branch,* being the symbol of peace, *supporting the banner of Jerusalem.* The said armorial ensigns being first duly exemplified according to the laws of arms, and recorded in the heralds' office.

"And also to order that his majesty's said concession, and especial mark of his royal favour, be registered in his college of arms."

The mayor and commonalty of the borough of Plymouth, at a common hall held 17th July, 1814, for the eminent services of Sir William Sidney Smith, then present, in testimony of his eminent services, resolved to confer on him the freedom of that borough, and ordered that the same be presented to him in a silver box by a committee of the commonalty:—

"At a common hall of the mayor and commonalty of the borough of Plymouth, held at the guildhall of and within the said borough, on Thursday, the 7th day of July instant, in pursuance of a regular notice of three clear days, from Henry Woolcombe, Esq., mayor, for the purpose hereafter mentioned:

"The mayor and commonalty, in common hall assembled, being desirous of recording the sense of high desert, and their gratitude for eminent services to their

country, more especially in that branch of his majesty's service with which, from local circumstances, they are more immediately connected, have taken into their consideration the meritorious actions of Vice-Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, now arrived at this port from his command on the Mediterranean station, at the conclusion of a war of unexampled importance, through the long course of which this gallant officer has been actively and eminently engaged. In this eventful war, in which the naval and military renown of Britain has been extended to a pitch, not only exceeding the recorded glory of former ages, but even the most ardent expectation of the present times,—a war not more distinguished by the stupendous victories of fleets and armies than by the most brilliant instances of individual prowess,—no exploit has surpassed the astonishing defence of Acre. To Sir S. Smith it was given, by fortitude, perseverance, conduct, and valour, to revive and augment the glories of England in Palestine, and on the plains of Nazareth to defeat the gigantic ambition of France, meditating the destruction of the British power in India. Nor were the ability and valour of the chieftain more distinguished on this memorable occasion than his humanity—that humanity which, in the moment of victory has ever adorned the brightest examples of British heroism, and which, in this instance, admitted of no check from any recollection of unmerited sufferings and indignities in a captivity unauthorised by the usages of honourable war, and inflicted in revenge for the exercise of that zeal, intrepidity, and spirit of enterprise, which should have commanded the admiration rather than the detestation

of his foes, have unanimously resolved to confer the freedom of the said borough on the said Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight Grand Cross of the military Order of the Sword in Sweden, &c., and Vice-Admiral of the Red squadron of his Majesty's fleet, in testimony of his high, distinguished, and meritorious services; and it is ordered that the same be presented to him in a silver box, by a committee of the commonalty.

"Resolved,—That the following gentlemen, viz. Sir William Elford, Bart., recorder; John Arthur, Esq., justice; Richard Pridham, Esq.; Robert Butler Bennett, D.M.; and George Bellamy, D.M., be a committee for the above purpose, and that any three of them be competent to act.

"Resolved,—That the mayor be requested to communicate the above resolutions to Sir William Sidney Smith, and to acquaint him that the deputation will wait on him with the freedom when he shall next come within the borough.

"JOSEPH WHITEFORD, *Deputy Town-Clerk.*"

The number of visits received and returned by Sir Sidney Smith, besides the attendance required by public departments, and the necessary preparations for a professional appointment which he was about to receive, allowed him not much time to attend his duties in parliament. We find him, however, on two occasions, addressing the house. First, on the discussion of the navy estimates, the 2nd December, 1802, when a motion was made by Mr. Alexander to increase the number of seamen to 50,000.

Sir Sidney Smith expressed considerable regret at

the great reductions that were suddenly made, both in the king's dock-yards and in the navy in general. A prodigious number of men had been thus reduced to the utmost poverty and distress; and it might be apprehended they would be obliged to seek employment from foreign states. Whatever reluctance they might feel to this, they might by dire necessity be compelled to it. On this ground he wished the number of *seamen* to be employed were considerably greater than it is; for he knew, from his own experience, that what was called an *ordinary* seaman could hardly find employment at present, either in the king's or the merchant's service. He had himself been present at some of the changes which had taken place in France; they resembled more the changes of scenery at a theatre than anything else. Everything was done for stage effect; and whether it was the death of Cæsar, the fall of Byzantium, or the march of Alexander, it seemed to Frenchmen almost equally indifferent. If the invasion of Britain was to be produced, it might have stage effect enough to draw 400,000 volunteers to join in the procession. Under those circumstances, he wished that this country should always be in a situation to call together speedily a strong naval force, to frustrate any attempts on the part of the enemy.

In July, 1805, a subject was brought forward, in which he was too much interested not to be present, and to give it the utmost support in his power. His friend, Mr. Windham, moved for copies of the correspondence of government relative to the case of Captain Wright. His honourable friend, Sir Sidney Smith, the gallant officer on the bench behind him, was

of opinion that the production of papers in the possession of government would be of service to Captain Wright, by publishing to the country and to Europe the circumstances of his case; and with this view he meant to conclude with a motion for the papers. The question to consider was, first, what was necessary for this country to do in order to maintain its dignity and independence; and, secondly, what was necessary to be done with a view to the relief of Captain Wright. As to what was necessary to the country, he should only say, that, if we were once to confess we durst not retaliate, it would be an acknowledgment of inferiority, which must in the end be fatal. As to the second object, if we were to do to the French as they did to us, it would have an effect on the feelings of the public in France, and on the military; and Buonaparte was not out of the reach of public opinion. Besides, he might now be governed by more generous feelings than formerly. Having attained the summit of his ambition, he was alive to fame, and not insensible to reproach. He could not be insensible to the reproach of having been actuated by motives of personal resentment against a gallant officer, whom he first knew at Acre, by the share he had in the ever-glorious and memorable exploit in defence of that place. The French ruler might, therefore, from the influence of more generous feelings, not less than from the dread of the odium that he would encounter in France, if the officers who might fall into our hands should be treated with the same rigour as Captain Wright, be induced to alter his conduct to that gallant officer.

The right honourable gentleman concluded by moving,

that a humble address, &c.; that copies of correspondence between his majesty's government and the government of France, &c., be laid before the house.

Sir Sidney Smith, in seconding the motion, felt that he was acquitting himself of a duty—a duty to his gallant friend, and a duty he owed to every officer in the navy. He argued that three beneficial purposes would be promoted by the production of the papers. First, it would afford a consolation to Captain Wright, in his solitary confinement, to find that he was not disowned by his government or by his country, and that the assertions of France with respect to him were not credited. He could, from his personal knowledge, assert that Captain Wright had been regularly employed in the service of his country; that he sought for service at the commencement of the war. He then gave an account, from an officer of the Vinceго, of the capture of that vessel, and of the subsequent treatment of the captain and crew. From the letter of this officer he read an extract:—"We have at length arrived at our place of rest (Verdun), after a fatiguing march of near 800 miles. Captain Wright was separated from us at Vannes, and the men were afterwards taken from us at Verheuil; we were then conveyed to Paris, and lodged in the Abbaye. So soon, however, as it became dark, we were removed to the Temple, where we were confined seven weeks, three of which we passed in solitary confinement." Sir Sidney then gave, from the same document, an account of their capture:—"We were," says the narrative, "in a narrow and intricate passage, without an air of wind, numerous gun-boats coming rapidly up with us; our men, who had been up all

night, and had laboured three hours at the oars in a sultry morning, were quite exhausted; and, finding escape impossible, the captain ordered the ship's broadside to be swept to; and an engagement was kept up, against such fearful odds, for more than two hours, when our fire almost wholly ceased, three of the guns being dismounted, and the rest encumbered with lumber from the falling of the booms, their supporters having been shot away. The men falling fast, the foremast nearly shot away, and the vessel nearly sinking, Captain Wright was obliged to hail that he had struck, just in time to save the lives of the few that could keep the deck, as the gun-boats were rowing up alongside, with numerous troops, to board. The captain himself was wounded in the thigh early in the action by a grape-shot, but never left the deck. We lament his separation from us as we would the absence of our dearest friends. His manners are those of a perfect gentleman, his abilities of the first class, and his bravery only equalled by his generosity and humanity. In his deportment to inferiors, he appears in the most amiable point of view, it being that of a kind and benevolent father. Indeed, I have not words to express my admiration of his character." Here the honourable and gallant officer, Sir Sidney, was so overpowered by the weight of his feelings, that he was, for some time, deprived of articulation, and in the end obliged to break off abruptly.

This needs not to be wondered at. The description given of the character of his friend was, in all its bearings, so perfectly congenial with his own, and his unjust and iniquitous imprisonment so similar to that which had been inflicted on himself by the same unfeeling

tyrant, that it became impossible for him to take any further part in the discussion.

The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved that there be laid before the house a copy of a letter from Mr. Marsden to E. Cooke, Esq., under-secretary of state, of 17th July, 1804, with a copy of its enclosure from M. Rivière, of the marine department at Paris, and also the answer of Mr. Cooke, dated 28th July, 1804.

These papers were produced, and laid before Lord Camden, who observes that Captain Wright, instead of meeting with that liberal treatment which has uniformly been experienced by French officers in similar cases, was sent with circumstances of peculiar indignity and severity to Paris, subjected to close imprisonment in the Temple, and obliged to undergo repeated interrogatories before a court of justice, when none of the facts alleged against him would, if true, have authorised the French government to consider Captain Wright in any other light than as a prisoner of war, and as entitled to every privilege of that situation.

Lord Camden finds it difficult to permit himself to advert to a case of this flagrant nature in the terms and expressions to which this communication ought to be conformed, for he believes that no age has yet produced an instance of a gallant officer, who, after defending his ship to the utmost, was obliged to surrender, and who thus becoming a prisoner of war, and as such entitled to all the respect which his conduct merited, was yet dragged to the capital of the hostile country, and interrogated there in a manner most unjustifiable, upon a subject to which he could not and ought not to answer.

Captain Wright's judgment and firmness appeared to be as conspicuous under the circumstances in which he was placed, as his gallantry in his particular profession; but he yet remained a close prisoner in the Temple at Paris, an example of the honour, the firmness, and the spirit of the British character.

His lordship then proceeds to state, for the information of M. Rivière, that, in order to lessen the evils of war, and to consult the interests of humanity, his majesty has twice invited the French government to accede to the principle of a general cartel, founded on the basis of that which existed between the two nations in the late war. But the proposal was evaded by the French government, on the paltry pretence that Hanoverians should be considered as British subjects, well knowing, as they did, that a Hanoverian was considered by the laws of Great Britain as an alien and a foreigner, over whom there is no control in this country.

M. Rivière adverts to the capitulation of Cape François, in November, 1803, and, from ignorance or perversion, justifies the detention of Captain Wright. It appears that, in this case, in a moment the most critical to the French garrison, all possibility of their escape being cut off, and their position such that their falling a sacrifice to the vengeance of the inhabitants of St. Domingo was inevitable, no terms being allowed for consideration and adjustment,—a paper of articles ready prepared by the French commanding officer was presented to Captain Bligh, who, actuated by motives of generosity and compassion, immediately consented thereto, with certain modifications, and, with great difficulty, induced General Dessalines also to consent to

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them, which modifications the French commanders, in the presence of Captain Bligh and three of his officers, promised on their honour to ratify as soon as they should arrive at Jamaica. Then, on the faith of this promise, thus fully and distinctly given in the presence of four British officers, who certified the fact, the French garrison were received under the protection of his majesty's squadron, and removed from certain immediate destruction; but as soon as, by these means, they were placed in a state of security, they retracted their promise, and refused to ratify the very engagements by which they had been saved.

Lord Camden, therefore, thought it necessary that a statement of these transactions should be detailed to M. Rivière, in order that the French government should be aware of all the circumstances of the case; and that his majesty, with that scrupulous adherence to capitulations and treaties which has ever distinguished this nation, would not insist upon any point not included in the words of the capitulation of Cape François, and would be guided in his conduct by the written instrument alone; and that no time would be lost in carrying into execution the capitulation of Cape François, whenever his majesty's government should be enabled, from the conduct of the French government, to effectuate that measure.

It was further suggested by Lord Camden, that a proposal should be made to M. Rivière, that, if Lieutenant Dillon (a prisoner of war, illegally detained) and Captain Wright were released from confinement and the latter treated as a prisoner of war, a general cartel, on the basis so properly agreed to during the course of the

late war, should be established between the two countries; but that, in the first place, his majesty, impressed by the lengthened and unjust captivity of his subjects, and the equally cruel and unjust imprisonment of Captain Wright, deemed it but reasonable to expect that an honourable redress on these points should precede any establishment of a general cartel.

But Mr. Windham's motion, and its results, were equally abortive. The papers produced what has here been stated, amounting to nothing; and in the space of three months from the time of the debate poor Captain Wright had arrived at the end of his long and unmerited troubles in this life. On the 20th November, 1805, the transport board received a note through Mr. Coutts Trotter, transmitted to him in a letter from Mr. Perregaux's house, of which the following is a copy:—

"Paris, November 4, 1805.

"Captain J. W. Wright, who was a prisoner in this country, has destroyed himself, last week, in his confinement.

"The only particulars I heard about it are, that he was found dead in the morning; he had on his table the 'Moniteur,' giving the official account of the surrender of Ulm, and a map of the course of the Danube.

"On the 29th June, 1804, the deceased sent to our prior, the keeper of the prison (a very humane man), with a note of 947.3 livres he owed him for his maintenance to that time, and he desired our prior to pay it, which he did. Our prior waited the time when the captain should have recovered his liberty, to mention his reimbursement, but the event above mentioned leaves the advance unsettled."

Such was the effect of the *generous feelings* by which the amiable Mr. Windham suggested "Buonaparte might now be governed;" that, having gained the summit of ambition, "he was *alive to fame*, and not *insensible to reproach*." His conduct throughout his whole career refutes both: his fame was human slaughter, his insensibility to reproach, contempt and derision. "He could not," said Mr. Windham, "be insensible to the reproach of having been actuated by motives of personal resentment against a gallant officer, whom he first knew at Acre." Strange mistake, this: more bitterly envenomed against an Acre officer than any other, as the following instance will prove:—

Frotté was brother to the Normandy man who aided Sir Sidney Smith's escape from prison, or, rather, who undertook the arrangement of an asylum for him in passing through Normandy to the coast. For this service he requested Sir Sidney Smith to take the brother with him to Turkey, which he did as an officer of the Tigre. This Frotté, after the peace of Amiens, returned to France, and was seized by order of Buonaparte, and put into prison, and what had become of him was quite unknown to Sir Sidney Smith.

During the peace the Duchess of Bedford visited Paris, and, amongst other things, went to see the Temple prison, and the apartment therein which had been occupied by the royal family, and also by Sir Sidney. By chance she came upon Frotté, who fortunately, as he thought, found an opportunity, without being observed, of begging the Duchess of Bedford to inform Sir Sidney Smith, on her return to England,

that he, Frotté, was confined *au secret* in that prison.

This was accordingly communicated to Sir Sidney Smith; and when the war broke out in 1803, he went to Andreossi, then about to leave England, and said to him, "Si j'étais dans la position de demander aucune grâce ou faveur à Buonaparte, ce serait de lui prier de donner la liberté au jeune Frotté, whose only demerit in the mind of Buonaparte can be that of his having served with me at St. Jean d'Acre; but, as I cannot ask him any favour, I beg you will say to him, that 'je lui rendrai compte,'" &c. This Andreossi did repeat to Buonaparte, who answered that his having been with Sir Sidney Smith was *un raison de plus* for keeping him a close prisoner. And he actually did transfer him to a château upon the frontier, for the greater security of his person.

Now can anything be worse than this? But the temper of the man, so marked in the scowling countenance of every portrait, almost incapable, as it would appear, of ever being brightened by a smile, seems to have created in his mind an abhorrence of all that is good and amiable; like the arch-fiend, when expelled from heaven, he might almost seem to say,

> ——— "All good to me is lost;
> Evil be thou my good."

Turn we now to one who presents a most agreeable and refreshing contrast, and compare his treatment of a Frenchman in the same predicament with that of the unfortunate Frotté.

While, on the one hand, the bravery and general

spirit of enterprise has been so conspicuously displayed, the philanthropy and benevolent disposition of British officers has been no less prominent. An account published by the French themselves states, that, in the beginning of the month of September, a flag of truce arrived at Barcelona from Port Mahon, bringing thither more than one hundred prisoners, Spaniards, Ligurians, and French, who had been rescued by the English from the possession of the Turks. The cruelties they are said to have experienced, according to their own report, and the expressions used in depicting them, "would freeze the very soul." Among the miserable captives was a person of the name of Thevenard, son to an inhabitant of Toulon; he was one of the unfortunate men sent by the French on the luckless expedition to Egypt. His brother had fallen in the battle of Aboukir, and he himself had languished in captivity for a considerable space of time, till Sir Sidney Smith, fortunately for him, became apprised of his distressed situation. This truly great man immediately exerted every nerve to procure his release, and was, as might be expected, successful: but his generosity did not stop here; he supplied him with necessaries, with money, with recommendations to a variety of persons at Constantinople, and afterwards caused him to be conveyed to Rhodes, in a vessel purposely equipped for his use.

The conduct of Sir Sidney on this occasion has been alluded to with the utmost gratitude by the French; and the following letter, selected from among many others equally benevolent and philanthropical, has been published in the French papers :—

Copy of a Letter from Commodore Sir Sidney Smith to Captain Gabriel Thevenard.

"On board the Tigre, June 15, 1800.

"M. Thevenard is requested to come and dine with Sir Sidney Smith, on board the Tigre, this day, at three o'clock. Sir Sidney takes the liberty to send some clothes, which he supposes a person just escaped from prison may require. The great coat is not of the best; but, excepting English naval uniforms, it is the only one on board the Tigre, and the same Sir Sidney wore during his journey from the Temple till he reached the sea. It will have done good service, if it again serves a similar purpose, by restoring another son to the arms of his aged father, dying with chagrin."

Such conduct must silence the breath of envy, and render all applause nugatory.

Another instance may be given of the benevolent character of Sir Sidney Smith. This illustrious officer, whose humanity equalled his valour, had as frequent occasion, during his memorable campaign in Syria, to teach mercy to his barbarous allies, as to inspire them with courage. His constant exertions to tame the ferocity of Djezzar Pacha, and his success in rescuing many French prisoners from a cruel death, are now well known. They are not, indeed, mentioned in his despatches, because humanity was too familiar to his mind to be spoken of by him as extraordinary or memorable. We might, perhaps,

have expected to have found them in the official narratives of the enemy. These narratives, however, furnish stronger proofs of ingratitude than mere silence could have afforded; but, to the honour of France, and of humanity, it ought to be known that all Frenchmen have not been unmindful of their generous enemy.

M. Delasalle, a second lieutenant of dragoons, serving under Buonaparte, in Syria, has published an account of his capture by the Arabs, of his being brought prisoner into Acre, and of his deliverance by Sir Sidney Smith, which does equal honour to the gratitude of the narrator, and to the chivalrous humanity of our gallant countryman. After having spent four days in constant expectation of death from the Arabs, he was brought before Djezzar, where Sir Sidney Smith interceded for his liberty, but in vain. He was committed to one of the dungeons where Djezzar had crowded his victims, and he hourly expected his fate. But he was deceived. The unwearied generosity of his illustrious enemy at length subdued the tyrant's fierceness. The intercession of Sir Sidney Smith at last prevailed. M. Delasalle was released. He was conducted on board the Tigre, where he was loaded with all the courtesy that Richard Cœur de Lion could have shewn to a French knight.

But among the Sidney papers is a French MS., signed by Le Chevalier Curiniole, relating an interesting narrative told by Mr. Hammer, who was exiled from Egypt by General Sir Hely Hutchinson, and who was partially a witness of the fact. A number of Ottoman prisoners of various nations,

mostly French officers, seamen, and soldiers, were exchanged at Aboukir, and embarked in a Greek vessel to be sent home. The villainous master, like a true Greek, carried them to the Morea, and sold them as his prisoners to the Turks, who carried them to Constantinople, where they were consigned to the miseries of the bagnio. This transaction took place in 1798-99, when Sir Sidney Smith first arrived at Constantinople. These were the same persons who appealed by letter to the knight, as has been mentioned; he obtained their release, and procured a proper vessel to carry them home. At that time Hammer was on the spot waiting for a passage to France, which he took on the same vessel. He gives the story of the misfortunes of these worthy men, and relates their praises of the zeal and humanity of their noble liberator, which was the theme of their daily discourse during the passage.

"Too oft," he says, "have I been witness to their grateful remembrance of their benefactor, Sir Sidney Smith, not to be the faithful echo of it. They composed verses in his praise—verses that were the burthen of their daily songs: and, above all, it was on our entering the port of Toulon, that I witnessed the most touching scene: all these people, after having despaired of ever seeing their country again, hastened to throw themselves, with deep and simultaneous emotion, on their knees upon the bridge, with thanksgiving to heaven, and to him who had been the means of delivering them from such great misfortunes and of restoring them to their country, earnestly invoking providence in his behalf. I partook," says Hammer, "of the general emotion; it was such that, even at

this day, I cannot call it to my memory without being moved."

In the debate on the Defence Act, on the 29th of July, Mr. Wilberforce thought it a little premature to vote the thanks of the house to men for merely doing what must be expected from Englishmen. He thought they ought to wait for solid services and more splendid achievements. In giving his opinion of the volunteer force in general, he appeared to coincide with Mr. Windham's idea, that the peasantry of the country, armed and acting as an irregular force, would be more efficacious. He thought it would give more room for the exercise and display of individual energy and courage. He instanced the wonderful and gallant exploits of Sir Sidney Smith at Acre; and stated that that officer had declared, that, if he had had any regular officer of engineers with him, he must have reported the place untenable, and quitted it. He took occasion to pay a high compliment to the extraordinary achievements of that gallant officer, who, in his opinion, had been but ill-requited for his services. He concluded by expressing a confidence that the country was equal to the situation it was now placed in, and would finally triumph over all its difficulties.

The benevolent naval institution, established for the relief of the distressed families of naval officers, who had fallen in battle or died in the execution of their duty, met annually for the exercise of this humane and charitable purpose. In June, 1802, the meeting was held at the London Tavern; and it is almost unnecessary to say that Sir Sidney, whose whole soul was ever open to

the calls of distress, and ever ready to relieve it,—very frequently beyond his means,—was present on this occasion; and it is unnecessary to add, that his health was proposed and drunk with enthusiastic applause, which touched his generous heart so deeply, that, in endeavouring to return thanks, he found the applause had overpowered him, and for some moments was silent. At length he began by saying he was sure the company would excuse his want of tact, owing to the novelty of his situation; but he need hardly assure them of the cordial feelings he entertained for the objects of that asylum, which had provided for the orphans of those brave men who had fallen in the late contest. Unfortunately for him, too many of them were in the list of his dearest friends, — and here, again, his feelings were too strong for utterance. A solemn silence prevailed for several minutes, and soft sympathy filled many a manly bosom, until Sir Sidney was roused by the thunder of applause which followed. He again addressed the company, stated that it was his intention to hand the governors a list of those sufferers with whom he had been connected. Among them was his intimate friend Captain Miller, of the Theseus; they had served together as midshipmen under Lord Rodney. Captain Miller lost his life off Acre, and had left two children. The next was Major Oldfield, of the marines. He would tell the company where the dead body of this brave man was contended for, and they would judge where and how he died. "It was in a sortie of the garrison of St. Jean d'Acre, when attacked by General Buonaparte, that Major Oldfield, who commanded the sortie, was missing. On

our troops advancing, his body was found at the mouth of one of the enemy's mines, and at the foot of their works. Our brave men hooked him by the neckcloth, as he lay dead, to draw him off; the enemy at the same time pierced him in the side with a halbert, and each party struggled for the body; the neckcloth gave way, and the enemy succeeded in dragging to their works this brave man: and here he must do them that justice which such gallant enemies are fully entitled to,—the next day they buried Major Oldfield with all the honours of war. This brave man has left children. In the list, also, is Captain Canes, late first-lieutenant of the Tigre. He lost not his life in any of the *numerous actions* in which he was engaged, but in carrying despatches to the Mediterranean of the preliminaries of peace. He perished at sea with his ship and crew. This brave officer has left young orphans, who want support." Sir Sidney concluded a most affecting address thus:—"That their orphans, and the offspring of the many others who have so nobly fought and died in their king and country's service, may meet support equal to their claims, is the warmest wish of my heart!"

It is stated that the collections of the day were 1317*l.* 10*s.*, and that the subscriptions previous to it amounted to 220*l.*, making a total of 1537*l.* 10*s.*

The children sung "Rule Britannia," and "God save the King," with high glee.*

* "Naval Chronicle," with little or no alteration.

FROM LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Camelford House, April 14, 1804.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"I was much gratified by your kind expressions in your letter to Lady Grenville, but I will not take up your time in expressing to you my sense of them; especially as the object of this letter is to say how much I wish for an opportunity of conversing with you, as soon as possible, on some points of business, arising out of the state of the joint interests of the two branches of Lady Camelford's family, on which some immediate decision appears to be necessary; I hope, therefore, that, whenever the state of the service in which you are engaged will allow it, you will avail yourself of any favourable opportunity of coming to London, when we shall both be truly happy to see you.

(Signed) "Grenville."

The following affectionate letter from Lady Camelford is worthy of her and of Sir Sidney. Her sorrow for the fate of her unfortunate son will be noticed hereafter:—

LADY CAMELFORD TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Brighthelmstone, November 12, 1801.

"I hope you will believe me, my dear Sidney, when I tell you that you have no friend who does rejoice more sincerely at your safe return, after your glorious career and various escapes, than I do. I can have but one regret upon the subject, my absence at the moment of your arrival. My impatience to see you is so great

that, if I was not confined with a degree of rheumatism that makes it quite impossible I should bear the motion of a carriage, I should immediately set out for London. I well know how impossible it is you should come down to me, for some time, at least; but when you have leisure, let me have one word from you. Apart from the pleasure I should have in seeing you, I have points that I wish to explain to you *before* you enter upon the arrangement of your private affairs. I think you will say you have too much public business to engross your thoughts just now, to allow you to attend to any other; but, as it is possible you may want money before you have the means to possess yourself of your own property, I wish you to tell me, whether I shall send you an order upon Messrs. Drummond for 200*l.*, for your immediate use. The 200*l.* I once named to you are still in my strong closet, certainly never to be applied in the manner your generous nature suggested. I will not prolong my letter unreasonably. Let me hear from you; and believe me, your affectionate aunt,

"A. CAMELFORD."

A great part of the following jocular letter, from the amiable Sir William Hamilton to General Edward Smith, the uncle of Sir Sidney Smith, must have been most gratifying to Sir Sidney, and quite refreshing to see such lightness of heart from this old faithful public servant, and devoted friend of Lord Nelson:—

" Grosvenor Square, Dec. 15, 1800.

" You grieve me, my dear Ned, (for so I used to call you when we were in correspondence,) by informing me that my old friend Jack is so far on the decline; indeed, I was prepared for it, by having heard from everybody that saw him last in London, that he was grown very old. I feel myself also very old; but, at this moment, am really in better health than I have been for four years past. I was totally relaxed, and it seems the air of my native country has braced me up again, and given me a new lease, for I have a good stomach and digest well, and have gained strength; whereas at Trieste and Vienna, in the month of August, I was really dangerously ill. I am sixty-nine years old, and, therefore, do not count upon a long lease; however, I will make the best of life as long as I can, do all the good I can, and trust to the mercy of God for what may happen hereafter. I believe poor Jack to be about my age. You know I have been supplanted, without any previous notice, by Mr. Paget; at the same time the king and cabinet comble me with praises, and promise me a just reward for my long services, thirty-seven years at Naples. *Nous verrons.* All I know is, that in the last two years of revolution I have suffered such losses, and been obliged to such extraordinary expenses in the king's service, that, unless assisted by government, I shall literally be a bankrupt. My case is before the Treasury, and probably my fate will be decided in a few days.

" I have certainly been feasted enough since I came home, as Lord Nelson insisted upon my attending him everywhere. You know he has got the San Joseph,

the Spanish 120-gun ship he boarded and took at Cape St. Vincent: she will be ready in a month, when his lordship means to go to sea. Be assured that Lord Nelson now understands Sir Sidney well, and really loves and esteems him; and I will venture to say, will give him every proof of it, if ever they should meet on service together, as I hope. They are certainly the two greatest heroes of the age; and one of the glories of my life is the having so united them, that it will not be an easy matter for the evil-disposed to part them asunder again; and I beg you, when you write, that you will answer him that this is my firm opinion. Pray let me know exactly the state of my poor friend, Mr. S. Smith, for, notwithstanding our long separation, I have the strongest attachment to him.

"Adieu, my dear sir, I hope to have the pleasure of seeing you in London. Believe me ever your most obedient, &c., "W. HAMILTON."

The following letter from Lord Spencer, on retiring from office, must have afforded great gratification to Sir Sidney Smith:—

"Admiralty, Feb. 20, 1801.

"DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"It is probable that, long before this reaches you, you will have learnt that the only connexion which now remains between us is one which I hope will ever remain, that of sincere friendship. Lord St. Vincent succeeds me at the Admiralty this day, and I of course have nothing now to do *officially* with the navy or its concerns, though I shall, as long as I live, feel deeply interested in its glory and welfare. I have, however,

the satisfaction to reflect, that I have not left my situation without contributing towards a public remuneration of your admirable services, the value of which, in a pecuniary light, will, I am persuaded, be much less esteemed by you, than the honourable testimony of approbation it conveys from your sovereign and both houses of parliament. A message was delivered by Mr. Pitt to the House of Commons, and by me to the House of Lords, from the king, recommending it to them to grant you a pension of one thousand pounds a year for your life; and both houses unanimously voted an address promising their compliance. The vote was afterwards passed in the committee of supply, and the bill for the grant is now on its passage through the two houses.

"I have not time at present to add more than to assure you, that I shall have very great pleasure in seeing you in St. James's Place whenever you return, and remain in the meanwhile, with the best wishes for your welfare and success, your very faithful friend and humble servant,

"SPENCER."

CHAPTER III.

THE HISTORY OF THE CAMELFORDS.

1804.

Occasion has just been taken to mention the kind consideration of Lady Camelford for Sir Sidney Smith, her nephew. She was not only a near connexion of, and a kind friend to, the whole family, but was also nearly connected with the family of Lord Grenville. Her maiden name was Wilkinson, and her sister—Sir Sidney's mother—having married his father, Captain Smith, without the consent of Mr. Pinckney Wilkinson, who was an opulent merchant, he left her very little at his death; the other sister having married Thomas Pitt, Lord Camelford, received the bulk of his fortune. She was left a widow with one son, who, of course, inherited the title; and of this unfortunate youth the lamentable story is about to be told.

At a proper age he entered the navy, and proceeded regularly and with a high character until he attained the rank of commander. In that character afloat we first find him at Antigua, in command of the Favourite; the Perdrix, sister sloop, commander Frahie, was also there, and both ships were under repair in the dock-yard. Captain Frahie being absent, Lord Camelford became commanding officer, and, as such, ordered Lieutenant Peterson of the Perdrix, then first lieute-

nant in command, to row guard in the harbour for that night. To that order he thought proper to refuse obedience, Captain Frahie being senior to Lord Camelford. High words passed between his lordship and the lieutenant, the latter still persisting to refuse obedience. About a dozen of the Perdrix' men came to the spot, armed, and Lord Camelford ordered six of his marines to the place, also armed. Mr. Peterson now drew up his men in a line, and stood at their head with his sword by his side. Lord Camelford drew up his marines in a line fronting the other, a few yards distant.

His lordship quitted his people for two or three minutes, when he returned with a pistol in his hand, which he had borrowed. The lieutenant continued to stand firm at the head of his men, with his sword drawn, its point resting on the ground. Lord Camelford went up to him with his pistol in his hand, saying, "Do you still persist in refusing to obey my orders?" to which Mr. Peterson answered, "Yes, I do refuse." On which Lord Camelford immediately presented the pistol to his right breast, and fired. Mr. Peterson instantly fell on his back, and never afterwards spoke or moved. His corpse was carried into the capstan-house, where his lordship attended, and was present at the examination of the body: he there gave himself up as a prisoner to commander Matson, of the Beaver, in which ship he was conveyed to the admiral in Fort Royal Bay, tried by court-martial, and honourably acquitted, in January, 1798, the deceased having been found guilty of acts of mutiny highly injurious to the discipline of his majesty's service.

In a short time he gave up the Favourite, and quitted the profession altogether. In May, 1799, he was brought to trial for an assault committed in Drury-Lane Theatre, and the jury found him guilty, awarding to the plaintiff 500*l.* damages. Whether it was his acquittal for the death of a brother officer, or his conviction for an assault, or both, that wrought upon his mind, he suddenly left England, without giving the slightest intimation to what part of the world he was about to proceed.

Lady Camelford became overwhelmed with grief, and three or four years passed on without being able to obtain the slightest information as to his being alive or dead. She was pining away with grief, and never recovered, but died at Camelford House about the end of the year 1804, without once seeing her son, being happily ignorant of the fate that was to befal him. She left a character behind her which the most fastidious might envy. "In the constant exercise of the most enviable qualities of the heart, she lived universally beloved, and died as universally lamented."

The following extract of a letter from Mr. Spencer Smith to Sir Sidney, speaks what *his* feelings were while she was yet alive, but her health rapidly declining. He is acknowledging a letter from Sidney, announcing the death of their mother, and enclosing one from Lady Camelford; and he thus breaks out at the mention of her name:—

"Alas! alas! I shall not go into that mournful subject any more than yourself. The last anchor and cable that attached me to *home* has thus parted! The

fondest hopes I cherished of comfort and consolation are interred with my poor parent ;* and in spite even of *Constance* and *little Sidney*, it is almost you alone that prevents me feeling myself the most solitary forlorn being upon the face of the globe. The stun I experienced from the way in which I learned the tidings, rendered me for a long time callous to everything, even to Lord Elgin's incessant stings, which is saying all, for they have been deep-barbed and venomous. As it is, I dream and dream of the Abbey Church at Bath, and Le Tigre, almost alternately, as containing the remains of all that is dearest to me here below!"

There is no clue to the following copy of a letter, purporting to come from an officer of the navy to a friend, whose name, the writer says, "I do not know :"—

"*Copy of a Letter from an Officer of the Navy to a Friend, whose name I do not know.*

"He sailed round the world with Lord Camelford, and, by the manner in which he speaks of him, appears very much attached to him. Of the present unhappy business he spoke with no alarm whatever; said it was a very loose and impartial account, that he knew the Barbadian well, and made not the least doubt it was a composition of lies and malice. That Lord Camelford was as good-natured, generous, and brave a man as ever lived, but had been very unlucky in many of his connexions. This gentleman himself is a perfect rough

* By this it would seem that his grief was chiefly occasioned by the death of his mother.

sailor, is just arrived, and came to London on the 18th *ult.* Perhaps it may be some comfort to poor, distressed Lady Camelford (for whom every heart with common feeling must be pained) to know how this affair is felt by indifferent people, and how little the event of it is feared; and likewise, that, if her son has some enemies, he also has his friends."

But to return to Lord Camelford. He came home at last, but it does not appear he communicated with any of his family. He met with a gentleman, Captain Best, with whom he quarrelled, fought a duel, and was shot. The Rev. W. Cockburne has published an account of this affair. "I have been told," he says, "that before this fatal meeting several overtures were made to Lord Camelford to produce a reconciliation, but they were rejected with some obduracy. The fact, it seems, was, his lordship had conceived an idea that his antagonist was the best shot in England, and he was therefore extremely fearful lest his reputation should suffer, if he made any concession, however slight, to such a person. After he fell, he is said to have expressed on the spot, what," says Mr. Cockburne, "he afterwards expressed to me, that he forgave his antagonist; and to the man who was called by his second to his support, he repeated several times that he was himself the sole aggressor." The wound being examined was pronounced to be mortal. By means of laudanum he got some sleep, was free from acute pain for two days, and on the evening of the third expired without a pang.

"Thus," says Mr. Cockburne, "died Thomas Lord Camelford, in the prime and full vigour of life, on the

10th day of March, 1804, aged twenty-nine. He was a man whose real character was to the world but little known; his imperfections and his follies were often brought before the public, but the counterbalancing virtues were but seldom heard of. Though too violent to those whom he imagined to have wronged him, yet to his acquaintance he was mild, affable, and courteous; a stern adversary, but the kindest and most generous of friends. That warmth of disposition which prompted him so unhappily to great improprieties, prompted him also to the most lively efforts of active benevolence. From the many prisons in this metropolis, from the various receptacles of human misery, he received unnumbered petitions; and no petition ever came in vain. Constantly would he make use of that influence which rank and fortune gave him with the government, to interfere in behalf of those malefactors whose crimes had subjected them to punishment, but in whose cases appeared circumstances of alleviation."

"Before Lord Camelford left his lodgings," Mr. Cockburne says, "on Tuesday night, the 6th inst., he inserted the following paper in his will :—

"'There are many other matters which, at another time, I might be inclined to mention, but I will say nothing more at present than that, in the present contest, I am fully and entirely the aggressor, as well in the spirit as in the letter of the word; should I therefore lose my life in a contest of my own seeking, I most solemnly forbid any of my friends or relations, let them be of whatsoever description they may, from instituting any vexatious proceedings against my antagonist; and should, notwithstanding the above declaration on my

part, the law of the land be put in force against him, I desire that this part of my will may be made known to the king, in order that his royal heart may be moved to extend his mercy towards him.'

The principal part of his fortune he bequeathed to his sister, Lady Grenville, to be entirely at her own disposal. His servants, though not mentioned in his will, he recommended in a very particular manner to Lord Grenville; and he left several sums to be devoted to benevolent purposes.

Lady Grenville (who is inconsolable) went twice to see her much-loved brother; but, on account of the weak state of her health, the surgeons thought that such meetings might be attended with serious if not fatal consequences; and her good sense getting the better of even her feelings, she acquiesced in their decision, and returned to Dropmore. Her lord scarcely ever quitted the house till his noble friend and relative died.

The coroner's inquest being held, a verdict was returned of 'Wilful murder against a person or persons unknown.' The body was then removed from Little Holland House to Camelford House, in Park-Lane, where the body, shrouded in white satin, and laid in a leaden coffin, was placed in it, and deposited in St. Anne's Church, there to remain till it could be conveyed to Berne, agreeably to his lordship's desire.

Lord Camelford was altogether a singular character. The day before his death, he wrote with his own hands a codicil to his will, in which he particularly describes the place where he wished his remains to be interred, and assigns his reasons. He states that persons in general have a strong attachment to the country in

which they were born, and generally desire that their remains may be conveyed from any distance to their native place. *His* desire, he says, may be thought singular, because it is the very reverse of this. "My wish is, that my body may be removed, as soon as convenient, to a far distant country—to a spot not near the haunts of men—where the surrounding scenery may smile upon my remains." It is situated on the borders of the Lake St. Lampierre, in the canton of Berne ; and three trees grow on this spot : he desires that the centre tree may be taken up, and the body being there deposited may immediately be replaced ; and he adds, "At the foot of this tree I formerly passed many solitary hours, contemplating the mutability of human affairs." Another injunction is, "Let no monument or stone be placed over my grave."*

* Annual Register, from Cockburne's account of the transaction.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NORTH SEA SQUADRON.

PREPARATIONS OF THE ENEMY FOR THE INVASION OF ENGLAND, ALONG THE DUTCH AND FLEMISH COASTS OF THE NORTH SEA FROM FLUSHING, OSTEND, AND BOULOGNE.—SIR SIDNEY SMITH APPOINTED TO THE ANTELOPE OF 50 GUNS, WITH A SQUADRON TO COMMAND THIS STATION.

1803—1804.

THE truce of Amiens of 1802, entitled ludicrously "a definitive treaty of peace," survived only a year; and, in the early part of the year 1803, was followed by a declaration of war, on the part of England, against France and the United States of Holland, to the great satisfaction of the nation at large. It was soon made manifest that the inordinate ambition of Buonaparte would never be satisfied, until he had inflicted a deadly blow against England; if for no other motive. than that of wiping off the disgrace he had met with of being defeated, and obliged to run away from his beaten army,—beaten as it was by a young naval officer and a handful of seamen and marines. Nothing short of the conquest of all England could suffice to wipe off this stain, and nothing less than an invasion of her shores could satisfy his wounded pride. His intentions were seen in the vast preparations that were making along the coasts of Holland, and Belgium, and France, —from the mouth of the Scheldt to Boulogne. But England was not unprepared, notwithstanding the

disastrous treaty of Amiens had produced a reduction of her means for carrying on a vigorous war.

On the 12th of March, 1803, Sir W. Sidney Smith received an order from the Lords of the Admiralty to hoist a broad pendant on board the Antelope, a ship of 50 guns, then at Sheerness ; and on the 24th of October of the same year, he received instructions from Lord Keith, commander-in-chief of the ships and vessels of his Majesty, employed and to be employed in the North Sea, to the following effect :—

"That the enemy having made,—and are still making, —extensive preparations, as there is reason to believe, for the invasion of this country, at the port of Flushing and in the river Scheldt, it has become highly necessary their operations should be watchfully attended to, and every exertion made for preventing and defeating these hostile designs ; and, placing full confidence in the address, judgment, industry, and activity you will exercise in the conduct of this service, you are directed to take under your orders the ships and vessels named in the margin, and all such others as may be placed under your direction :—

Amelia,	Cruiser,
Magicienne,	Inspector,
Circe,	Galgo.
Phœnix, Lord Nelson,	Cutters."

He is then directed to take the most convenient station, off the port of Flushing and the river Scheldt, making and collecting from his advanced ships such remarks and information of the intended operations, movements, and apparent designs of the enemy, as he

can, which are to be made known to Lord Keith or to Rear-admiral Thornborough, at Yarmouth. As a part of the squadron is stationed at Helvoet, and another for the service of Dunkirk and Ostend, he is to communicate with them, and combine with their operations in case of need; observing, however, that Flushing and the Scheldt are to be his main object.

The execution of this instruction, in the event of his necessary absence, is to devolve on Captain Lord Proby, of his Majesty's ship Amelia; who is to be furnished with a copy of Sir Sidney's instructions for his guidance.

The following is a confidential communication (signed No. 2) addressed to Sir Sidney Smith, and sent by him to Lord Keith. It is dated Flushing, 27th of December, 1803 :—

"Flushing, December 27, 1803.

"Sir,

"I take this opportunity of writing to inform you that the French are leaving this place, and are going to Ostend, Dunkirk, and Calais, expecting to embark from these places. It is reported there are one hundred thousand men between Ostend and Boulogne. The gun-boats and schuyts which have been brought for the expedition amount to one thousand; and eleven brigs which have been pressed have each one mortar on board, and are to serve as fire-vessels: these are at Dunkirk. The schuyts, which are at Dunkirk and Ostend, have each two six-pounders, or one long twelve. The expedition is very forward, some of the officers are arrived who are to take command. Seve-

ral of the vessels have already some troops on board, but no sailors. They make the gun-boats serve as barracks. The soldiers seem very eager for the expedition to take place. At Flushing there is an embargo on all vessels except the fishermen; and I am on board a fishing-dogger, under Prussian colours, and expect to sail every day. I have been out once, but was obliged to return on account of bad weather. There are at Flushing one hundred and six gun-boats, some with two six-pounders, and some with one twelve, with their sails all bent, each having one boat on board, but no provisions. The Fury frigate, of forty-eight guns, is lying in the old harbour, with her guns on shore, and a brig with sixteen guns is here in the harbour; she is taking a great number of shells on board: and there are six brigs and fifteen schooners, which are all coming in the harbour to refit before the expedition takes place. There are fifteen thousand Dutch troops drafted for the expedition; two regiments have left this place to-day for the Texel. The gun-boats, which are built at Amsterdam, amount to one hundred and twenty, which are now lying at the Texel. The Dutch troops which are going on the expedition are to embark from Flushing and the Texel. The gentleman I made mention of in my last was obliged to put back on account of the weather: the vessel is detained; he is put in prison; the consequence is not known, but there was nothing found upon him. The privateer I informed you of is at sea, but has sent nothing in since. In the town of Flushing are eighteen hundred soldiers, and on the island about eight thousand, the most part Dutch troops: both officers and men seem very dissa-

tisfied with the expedition. The schuyts which I mentioned in my last keep continually going from this place to Ostend and Dunkirk; everything else remains as in the last.

(Signed by the initials of "No. 2."

A second communication came to Sir Sidney, with the same signature (No. 2).

Extract of a Letter, dated Flushing, 7th January, 1804.

"A French admiral has lately arrived here to take the command of the fleet of gun-vessels lying at Flushing. There are at this place one hundred and fifteen gun-boats, twenty-two brigs and schooners, all with their guns on board, and ready to sail with the expedition; the guns they have are two long twelves forward, and one abaft, and four six-pounders in the waist.

"There are two frigates here, Le Furie (French), and the Aurora (Dutch), which was built here; but her upper-works are not yet finished. The people belonging to the frigates are drafted on board the gun-vessels, and fifteen hundred French soldiers were embarked this day on board the gun-boats.

"They are drawing all the French troops out of Holland to this place, from whence they are to sail to join the gun-vessels at Boulogne and Calais.

"The gun-vessels which are at the Texel are to come here, and one part of the expedition is to sail from hence. There are to be three hundred gun-boats

collected here, and the Dutch troops are to embark from this place.

"Ten schuyts with French troops on board are to sail for Dunkirk the first fair wind: this is the occasion of the embargo. They have removed all the merchant-vessels and Prussians out of the old harbour, to make room for those gun-boats which are coming here: when they are all arrived it will be very easy to set them on fire, as they are close together. I have been on board of several, and they are fitted like barracks inside with deal; but before there is anything of the kind attempted I shall see you.

"The Dutch troops have all left this place for Holland, and now there are nine thousand French troops here, and they are to be augmented to fifteen thousand.

"No. 2."

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

Up to the end of February, 1804, the several detachments of cruisers from Flushing to the southward were employed in watching the movements of the enemy, and in obtaining information. On the 23rd of that month Sir Sidney Smith, in a letter to Lord Keith, dated "near the 17-fathom Bank," appears to find the state of inactivity somewhat irksome, and not quite to relish the restrictive system imposed on him by the commander-in-chief. Looking back to the days of constant activity in Egypt and Syria, it can easily be imagined how irksome must be felt the situation of the commodore of a 50-gun ship, almost always at anchor in one spot, left alone, and with no other occupation than to receive reports from his scattered musquito fleet, and

transmit copies of them to his distant commander-in-chief. His situation was further aggravated by an order of restraint imposed on him by that chief :—

"I feel restrained," he says, "by the precise acceptation of the words of the 'general memorandum of the 8th of November,' since positive success, which no officer can command, can alone justify making the attempt, and this I have less right to count upon, as their lordships consider their furnishing me with small vessels of similar properties to those of the enemy, which can follow them into shoal water, so objectionable ; perhaps, when their lordships are better satisfied of the anchorage behind the Elbow Sand being good, and when they consider that the Scheldt above Flushing is open to the squadron, they may think it more feasible, particularly as the fine season of off-shore wind is coming on."

On this remark, Lord Keith, in his letter to the Admiralty, of the 29th of February, 1804, observes :—

"On the subject of the commodore's remark respecting the limitation of my general order of the 8th of November last, which restrains his Majesty's officers from allowing themselves to be seduced under the enemy's batteries, I have explained to him the necessity of the imposition of such restriction, and acquainted him with the important consequence of preserving his squadron in a fit condition to defeat the avowed attempt of the enemy's flotilla at Flushing, should it proceed to sea, as he is stationed there for the express purpose of counteracting such design, for which no other provision is or can be made ; but I

have, at the same time, acquainted him that I am far from thinking that opportunities may not offer, when the enemy may be attacked with fair prospects of advantage, and that on such occasions I confidently rely on his exercising his judgment and discretion to the best advantage for the public good."

No one can doubt that in cases of this kind a discretionary power must be left with the officer immediately in command; and if that officer, before the execution of a hazardous and doubtful service, exercises with his discretion a sound judgment as to the probable issue of the event, any general restraining order must operate unfavourably on the feelings and the conduct of an enterprising officer. It will readily be conceived, therefore, that any restraint must have been painfully felt by such an officer as Sir William Sidney Smith, who had just left various scenes of warlike operations, carried on more or less vigorously for three years, and had gloriously defended and triumphantly protected the capital of a province in Syria from the assaults of Buonaparte, with an army of disciplined French soldiers, continuing with little or no intermission for sixty days. And what were the means of his defence? chiefly, as has been already stated, the officers, seamen, and marines of two British ships of the line, a handful of Turkish troops, and one or two self-taught engineers, to repair the dilapidated works. It may be said, perhaps, by some, that the man who accomplished this was one who would seem to require "restraint;" they will argue that "discretion is the better part of valour." There are others who would reverse that proposition.

The Lords of the Admiralty and their commander-in-chief of the North Sea fleet, on the present occasion, would appear to have entertained something like different opinions; for instance, we perceive that on the 22nd of March Lord Keith acquaints Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, in reply to his report of Lieutenant Hanchett having brought off three small merchant-vessels that were anchored before Zurickzee pier, that he much approved of the good conduct of the lieutenant, Mr. Budd, and the people employed on that occasion. Two days after this, (on the 24th,) the same commander-in-chief tells Sir Sidney Smith, in reference to the same service, by the same people, on the same spot, that he has been acquainted, by their lordships' command, that they lament "you (Sir Sidney) should hazard your men and boats on such frivolous enterprises."

It appears that considerable preparations were making and forces assembling in the several Dutch ports, of which Lord Keith received an account, attested by Captain John Poo Beresford, commanding La Virginie frigate. At Helvoet a French and a Dutch frigate in the basin; a Dutch frigate at the pier head, destined for Flushing; 150 sail of gun-boats already gone for Flushing; two new line-of-battle ships in ordinary; four schooner gun-boats fitting for sea. At Rotterdam thirty schuyts to carry two guns each. In the *Nieu Diep* two line-of-battle ships, to go on the expedition. From a ship boarded:—At the Helder, four line-of-battle ships, four frigates, one brig, and one cutter, with three sail of large transports, ready for sea.

By looking close into the different ports, by board-

ing trading-vessels that had left them, and by boarding others, information of the preparations, the movements, and the changes of the various description of shipping, mostly small, continued to supply intelligence, such as it was, to Sir Sidney's little squadron, during the month of February, and little or no hope of being employed in more active measures. The cold stormy weather of the North Sea in the winter season, tumbling about in constant gales of wind, yet fixed nearly to one spot, and without the expectation of any change, must have been an enduring punishment to Sir Sidney and all employed under his command. The month of February, in addition to the cold climate, concluded with a violent gale of wind.

The operations of March were but little varied from those of February. Sir Sidney obtained by one of his numbered Secrets (No. 5) a particular account of the state of Ostend, of a more formidable nature than any of those hitherto examined.

Report from No. 5, accompanied by an extract from Sir Sidney's letter to Lord Keith, gives the following account.

Extract of a Letter from Commodore Sir Sidney Smith to Right Hon. Lord Keith; dated Antelope, at anchor within the Stone Bank, March 13, 1804.

"I dispatch the Lord Nelson cutter, though I can ill spare one at this moment from the look-out duty, to inform your lordship that the enemy are concentrating their flotilla at Ostend at present, and at the same time re-equipping their larger ships of war in

the ports immediately opposed to us, as will appear by the enclosed copies of information and statements from Captain Manby, dated the 11th instant, from No. 5, received this day, from Captain Hancock of yesterday, and Lieutenant Boxer.

"I am persuaded the utmost exertions have been used by the three commanders of the ships which chased in shore on the occasion of the enemy's flotilla moving to the westward, but they could not carry their ships within the Strom Sand on a falling tide; and it was not to be expected that they could attack such small vessels with effect without similar ones to approach near to them, and follow them into shoal water.

"The assemblage of schuyts and schooners is so great in Ostend, that I should think shells with combustible matter in them might be employed with effect.

(Signed) "W. S. SMITH."

Report from No. 5, received March 13, 1804.

"An account from Ostend by a friend sent to buy a sloop, and at the same time to bring every information concerning the flotilla, which is very considerable there, which may be relied on, as near as possible it being as follows:—

"One hundred luggers, all new, adapted for rowing, with two guns, one fore and the other aft; one hundred and forty large gaff schuyts, from about 100 to 120 tons; two hundred and sixty of smaller sort, different sizes, which makes five hundred; but exceed that number. At the west part a large camp, and another at the east side of the tower, which consists of twenty-

one thousand men: they have a large quantity of artillery in the camp, and about three hundred pieces of cannon, great and small. No strangers allowed to sleep in the tower, except Frenchmen. Twenty of the flotilla from Flushing escaped and got into Ostend with an admiral on board, and is since arrived, to take command of another squadron. Now lying at the Rammekins, one hundred gun-schuyts and schooners, (a French frigate near them,) with troops on board. In a heavy gale of wind, the latter end of February, there were about one hundred and twenty soldiers drowned, and many of the vessels much damaged. Remain in the basin, as yet, nearly one hundred of these gun-schuyts and thirty-four schooners. The new harbour is full of schuyts, taken in requisition, adapted for carrying horses. The troops are much thinned on the island, there being very few in the barracks: on the island of Schowen at present there are about one thousand Dutch troops, burghers excepted, and hardly any batteries round it.

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

FROM CAPTAIN HANCOCK TO SIR S. SMITH.

"Cruiser, off Ostend, March 12, 1804, 1 P. M.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to acquaint you that this morning, at half-past four o'clock, we discovered several sail of the enemy's vessels, consisting of twelve schooners and one brig, steering with the first of the ebb, apparently with an intention of boarding us. Two of them closed with us for that purpose, or to take off our attention from the rest, but, finding us prepared to

receive them, they dropped alongside and anchored, and instantly on our beginning to fire they cut their cables.

"Having by this time discovered it to be the enemy's intention to pass us, and stand to the westward, we cut our cables, as did the Rattler, and made all sail in pursuit of them; but, owing to their keeping close in shore, although we stood into half two and quarter less three the whole time, we were never able to approach them near enough to make any impression. We continued the pursuit, in which we were joined by the Galgo, till they anchored close under the batteries of this port, which they are now entering with a flood tide.

"As I consider most of these vessels have troops in, being crowded with men, and firing a great deal of musketry, I consider it proper to remain off this port to watch them till further orders from you, and I shall anchor accordingly, with the Galgo and Rattler, as close to the port of Ostend as I can.

"I have to regret, from the shoal water, it was not in our power to close with the enemy. I am happy to add that we have sustained no loss, although the ships continued the pursuit till both shot and shells from the batteries at Ostend went over us, and no prospect remained of our making any further impression on them.

"I dispatch the Lord Nelson cutter with this letter, and, in the event of your wishing me to resume our former anchorage immediately, we can pilot the Galgo. I enclose our report of yesterday, when I reconnoitred close in with the Cruiser. "I have, &c.,

(Signed) "JOHN HANCOCK, Captain."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD KEITH.

"Antelope, at anchor within the Stone Bank,
off Flushing, March 31, 1804.

"My Lord,

"The boats of the squadron have been in shore whenever the weather allowed it, for the purpose of keeping a close look-out on the enemy's movements; and as there was little hope of meeting their vessels in the open sea, after the reception they met with from the Cruiser, Rattler, and Galgo, on the 12th, having passed by the interior navigation ever since, I gave Captain Lord William Stuart orders to take the boats of the squadron under his command, and act on that line of communication in any manner that might occasion serious loss to the enemy. The French frigate, being unmanned by furnishing her crew to the gun-boats, hauled into safety under Rammekins Castle. The eastern division of the line of boats under Lieutenant Boxer, finding a vessel alongside the wall before Colyns Plaat, on North Beveland, in the night of the 23rd, boarded and brought her off: she was loaded with fascines. The musketry of the people on shore alarming the guard-boat, it was necessary to board her to silence her fire. Mr. Hanchett gallantly led the way in the Antelope's launch, closely followed by Lieutenants Boxer and Barber: the two latter being very early wounded in a most gallant attempt to board across the launch, and Mr. Morirllyan, with many men in that boat, being likewise wounded, she could not hold

on, and fell astern. The contest with fire-arms lasted for three-quarters of an hour, without their being able to get on board, such was the obstinate defence of the Dutchman, favoured by the inaccessible form of their vessel and the strong tide. Mr. Hanchett, with his usual zeal and intrepidity, took the Antelope's cutter, and, with the small boats, boarded on the broadside; in which operation Mr. Slessor of the Antelope, and Mr. Hawkins of the Magicienne, are much praised by Mr. Hanchett, as also Lieutenant Honyman of the marines, a volunteer on the occasion. The decks were soon cleared, and the gun-vessel carried: she was a galliot called the Schrik, carrying two eighteen pounders, two sixes, and otherwise perfectly equipped and prepared to resist such an attempt, which it appears, by the orders found on board, was expected. The gallant resistance of the captain cost him his life: he was found among the dead on her deck, with three wounds. The vessel grounding in the passage down, and being shattered in her sails, could not be brought off; it was intended to set fire to her, but it being found impossible to remove all the prisoners and wounded, the intention was not carried into effect, and our boats being hard pressed by a force superior to them in their disabled state, they relinquished her. The prize is the least part of the consideration, but the loss of men, (a return of which is enclosed,) heavy as it is, is counterbalanced by that of the enemy, and by the proof Lieutenant Boxer and his brave followers have given to the enemy, of the prowess and perseverance of British seamen and marines in such sort of contests. Lord William Stuart's division proceeded above Flushing, on

which the frigate hauled into the basin, and the gun-vessels under the batteries.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. S. SMITH."

A list of the killed and wounded in the boats of his Majesty's ships Antelope and Magicienne on the night of the 23rd of March, 1804, in action with a gun-boat of the enemy.

	KILLED.	WOUNDED.
Antelope	James Miller, quarter-master's mate, and two private marines.	Lieut. James Boxer. Mr. Edward Morirlyan, master's mate. George Grant, gunner's mate; also six seamen and one private marine.
Magicienne	Lisle Wilson, quarter-master.	Lieut. Daniel Barber and three seamen.

Total: One quarter-master, one quarter-master's mate, and two private marines, killed; two lieutenants, one master's mate, one gunner's mate, nine seamen, and one private marine, wounded.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Lord Keith transmits, for the information of the lords of the Admiralty, a letter which he had received from Commodore Sir Sidney Smith, acquainting him that the enemy's flotilla at Flushing had been pushed out from that port on the 16th instant, to form a junction with that at Ostend, and that the greatest part of them had succeeded in reaching the latter place, notwithstanding the vigorous measures that were used by the commodore and his squadron to resist their progress; a circumstance which is to be imputed only to the numerous disadvantages to which his majesty's ships were subjected, in consequence of the shallowness of the water, and the effect of the enemy's

field artillery and their batteries on the shore; for the commodore, he says, appears to have used every practicable exertion to defeat the design, and to have been very gallantly seconded by all the officers serving under his orders.

The following is the letter alluded to by Lord Keith:—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD KEITH.

"Antelope, at anchor off Ostend, May 17, 1804.

"My Lord,

"Information from all quarters, and the evident state of readiness in which the enemy's armaments were in Helvoet, Flushing, and Ostend, indicating the probability of a general movement from those ports, I reinforced Captain Manby, off Helvoet, with one ship, and directed Captain Hancock of the Cruiser, stationed in shore, to combine his operations and the Rattler's with the squadron of gun-boats stationed off Ostend.

"The Antelope, Penelope, and Amiable occupied a centrical position in sight both of Flushing and Ostend, in anxious expectation of the enemy's appearance. Yesterday, at half-past five A. M., I received information from Captain Hancock, then off Ostend, that the enemy's flotilla was hauling out of that pier, and had already twenty-one one-masted vessels and one schooner outside in the roads; and at half-past seven the same morning, I had the satisfaction to see the Flushing flotilla of fifty-nine sail, viz. two ship-rigged prâams, nineteen schooners, and thirty-eight schuyts, steering along-shore from that port towards Ostend, under cir-

cumstances which allowed me to hope I should be able to bring them to action.

"The signal was made to the Cruiser and Rattler for an enemy in the E.S.E. to call their attention from Ostend. The squadron weighed the moment the flood made, and allowed of the heavier ships following them over the banks. The signals to chase and to engage were obeyed with alacrity, spirit, and judgment, by the active and experienced officers your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders.

"Captains Hancock and Mason attacked this formidable line with the greatest gallantry and address, attaching themselves particularly to the two praams, both of them of greater force than themselves, independent of the cross-fire from the schooners and schuyts. I sent the Amiable, by signal, to support them. The Penelope having an able pilot, Mr. Thornton, on signal being made to engage, Captain Broughton worked up to the centre of the enemy's line, as near as the shoal water would allow, while the Antelope went round the Stroom Sand to cut the van off from Ostend; unfortunately, our gun-boats were not in sight, having, as I have understood since, devoted their attention to preventing the Ostend division from moving westward.

"The enemy attempted to get back to Flushing; but, being harassed by the Cruiser and the Rattler, and the wind coming more easterly against them, they were obliged to run the gauntlet to the westward, keeping close to the beach, under the protection of the batteries.

"Having found a passage for the Antelope within

the Stroom Sand, she was enabled to bring her broadside to bear on the headmost schooners before they got the length of Ostend. The leader struck immediately, and her crew deserted her: she was, however, recovered by the followers. The artillery from the tower and camp, and the rowing gun-boats from the pier, kept up a constant and well-directed fire for their support: our shot, however, which went over the schooners, going on shore among the horse-artillery, interrupted it in a degree: still, however, it was from the shore we received the greatest annoyance; for the schooners and schuyts, crowding along, could not bring their prow guns to bear without altering their course towards us, which they could not venture; and their side guns, though numerous and well served, were very light. In this manner the Penelope and Antelope engaged every part of their long line from four till eight, while the Amiable, Cruiser, and Rattler continued to press their rear. Since two o'clock the sternmost praam struck her colours and ran on shore; but the artillery-men from the army got on board, and she renewed her fire on the Amiable with the precision of a land battery, from which the ship suffered much. Captain Bolton speaks much in praise of Lieutenant Mather, who is wounded.

"Several of the schooners and schuyts, immediately under the fire of the ships, were driven on shore in like manner, and recovered by the army. At eight, the tide falling, and leaving us in little more water than we drew, we were reluctantly obliged to haul off into deeper water to keep afloat, and the enemy's vessels that were not on shore or too much shattered

were thus able to reach Ostend: these and the Ostend division have hauled into the basin. I have anchored in such a position as to keep an eye on them, and I shall endeavour to close with them again if they move into deeper water. I have to regret, that, from the depth of the water in which these vessels move, gun-boats alone can act against them with effect. Four have joined me, and I have sent them in to see what they can do with the praam that is on shore.

"I have great satisfaction in bearing testimony to your lordship of the gallant and steady conduct of the captains, commanders, officers, seamen, and marines under my orders; Captains Hancock and Mason bore the brunt of the attack, and continued it for six hours against a great superiority of fire, particularly from the army on shore, the howitzer shells annoying them much. These officers deserve the highest praise I can give them. They speak of the conduct of their lieutenants, officers, and crews in terms of warm panegyric.

"Messrs. Budd and Dalyell from the Antelope acted in the absence of two lieutenants of those ships. Lieutenants Garrety and Patful, commanding the Favourite and Stag cutters, did their best with their small guns against greater numbers of greater calibre. Lieutenant Hillier of the Antelope gave me all the assistance and support on her quarter-deck his ill state of health would permit. Lieutenant Stokes and Mr. Steffer, acting lieutenant, directed the fire on the lower and main decks with coolness and precision. It would be the highest injustice, if I omitted to mention the intrepid conduct of Mr. Lewis, the master, Mr. Nunn, and Mr. Webb, pilots, to whose steadiness, skill, and

attention, particularly the former, I shall ever feel myself indebted, for having brought the Antelope into action within the sands, where, certainly, the enemy could not expect to be met by a ship of her size; and for having allowed her to continue engaged with Commodore Verhuel to the last minute it was possible to remain in such shoal water with a falling tide. It is but justice to say the enemy's commodore pursued a steady course, notwithstanding our fire, and returned it with spirit to the last.

"I could not detach open boats into the enemy's line to pick up those vessels which had struck and were deserted, mixed as they were with those still firing. Captain Hancock sent me one schuyt that had hauled out of the line and surrendered. She had a lieutenant and twenty-three soldiers of the 48th regiment, with five Dutch seamen, on board. She is so useful here, I cannot part with her yet.

"Enclosed is a list of our loss, which, though great, is less than might have been expected, owing to the enemy's directing their fire at our masts. The Rattler and the Cruiser have, of course, suffered most in the latter respect, but are nearly ready for service again. The smoke would not allow us to see the effect of our shot on the enemy; but their loss, considering the number of them under our guns for so long, must be great in proportion. We see the mast-heads above water of three of the schooners and one of the schuyts which were sunk.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W SIDNEY SMITH."

Return of killed and wounded on board his Majesty's ships and vessels under the orders of Commodore Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight, &c., in action with the enemy's flotilla on its passage from Flushing to Ostend, 16th May, 1804.

ANTELOPE.—Two seamen and one private marine wounded.

PENELOPE.— Three seamen killed, and four seamen wounded.

AMIABLE.—Mr. Christie, master's mate, Mr. Johnson, midshipman, four seamen and one boy, killed.

Lieutenant W. Mather, Mr. Shawell, purser, Mr. Conner, midshipman, and eleven seamen, wounded.

CRUIZER.—One seaman killed; Mr. George Ellis, clerk, and three seamen wounded.

RATTLER.—Two seamen killed; and five seamen wounded.

Total: Two petty officers, ten seamen, and one boy, killed; one lieutenant, one purser, four petty officers, twenty-five seamen, and one private marine, wounded.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

It must be admitted, considering the extraordinary exertions, and the energy of body and mind of Sir Sidney, displayed in the Levant Sea, both before and after the ever-memorable defence of St. Jean d'Acre, that the present employment assigned to him was not at all suited to his superior genius: to watch from day to day an enemy skulking in port till an opportunity occurred for a favourable chance to escape his opponent, yet unfavourable for the pursuit of the latter; being incapable of reaching them, almost at all times, on account of the sand-banks and the general shallowness of the course which they were enabled to pursue; and, if by chance got hold of, followed by neither honour nor emolument; a service, moreover, attended by toil and great anxiety. Yet Sir Sidney, in his vast correspondence, does not appear, in any part of it, to utter a single complaint. He found, however, that his health

was giving way, and was advised to ask for leave of absence; he did so, and was told a captain would be sent to relieve him. He made an attempt to destroy the flotilla assembled at Boulogne, which failed: he then asked to have a captain under him, which was not granted.

Sir Home Popham finally succeeded to the command of the Antelope, with the numerous small craft, furnished with a cargo of copper and wooden *carcases*, as he called them, intended for explosion among the enemy's craft; but, as his operations and the *sanitory* ones for the destruction of the Boulogne flotilla ended in smoke, and Sir Sidney Smith had no share in them, we leave Sir Home Popham to pursue his *carcasian* amusement, and himself to report the success of his experiments.

Sir Sidney, however, during his short stay on shore, was of too active and inventive a mind to remain idle. His late employment led him to conceive the construction of a vessel or raft, for the conveyance of large bodies of troops over shallow parts of the sea, to attack forts, or to land them on shores where large vessels could not approach. For this purpose he constructed the model of a machine, consisting of two barges or wherries placed parallel to each other, and at a certain distance, across which was laid a platform of planks, which extended to the off-sides of the two boats or barges, to which they were firmly attached. A machine of this kind, bearing a platform of about twenty feet square, was prepared on the banks of the Thames, and rowed up to Chelsea by six men: in another trial down to Greenwich, three or four sails were erected on

the platform, which answered partially, according to the state and direction of the wind.

* *

The only paper on this subject is the following, which appeared in the "Naval Chronicle," sent, no doubt, by Mr. Spencer Smith, who furnished that journal with almost all that concerned his brother. The paper is signed "A. B." Sir Sidney at this time was unemployed.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH'S FLOTILLA.

"Dover, September 2, 1804.

"At eight o'clock yesterday evening the firing of six guns from a cutter in the roads announced the arrival of this gallant officer in the Diligence revenue cutter, from Ramsgate. He was brought on shore in a pilot wherry, and received by a further salute of three guns. He was accompanied by several naval officers, and retired for the night to the York Hotel. This morning, at an early hour, the two gun-boats, newly-constructed by the direction of Sir Sidney, were brought from their moorings to the mouth of the harbour, for his inspection, and for the purpose of making some further experiments with them. They are, I suppose, upon much the same plan as those lately tried on the river Thames; but, as they may differ in some respects, and are on a more extensive scale, a short description of these may not be unacceptable. The one is called the Cancer, and the other the Gemini. The Cancer is formed of a galley, about forty-eight feet in length, cut exactly in two, from stem to stern; those two parts are joined to the ends of five pieces of timber, which

cross them, and are made secure by braces of iron: upon those five beams is raised a platform, in the centre of which stands a three-pounder, ready mounted, with ammunition-boxes, &c.; the wheels of this cannon stand in a groove, upon a sort of frame-work, which runs out some feet beyond the bows, so that the moment the vessel is run ashore, the cannon can be landed, and instantly put in use. In the centre of each of the two extreme beams which join the two half-galleys, masts are fixed, each of which carries a large square sail with proper rigging: a foresail projects from a boom which is fixed to the frame. There are four rudders, one to each extremity of the half-galleys, two only of which are worked at a time, by a cord connected with a larger one in the centre, and managed by a person on the platform. These rudders can be shipped or unshipped in a moment, and the half-galleys being equally sharp at both ends, she can be run back or forward at pleasure. The half-galleys are decked, with eight holes cut along each, large enough to admit a man's body, to the mouth of each of which is fixed a canvas bag, painted so as to prevent the water penetrating, with a running string in the top: in these bags the sixteen men, who pull at the oar, seat themselves, and tie them above their hips; this sufficiently lashes them to the boat, and prevents them being washed overboard. Besides these sixteen oars, and the other persons who manage the sails, &c., this vessel is capable of holding fifty soldiers. Her sides are entirely lined with cork, so that it is impossible to upset her; and in a heavy sea it passes over her without doing any injury, except giving the men wet jackets.

"The other boat, the Gemini, is of the same construction, but much larger, with this difference; she is formed of two entire galleys, fastened together as the Cancer, with sixteen holes in each galley, for the rowers are inside the other. The sixteen outside men row with oars, while those at the inside are furnished with a sort of spade, in the shape of the paddle of an Indian canoe, the blade made of iron, and a space is left between the platform and the galleys for the men to work these paddles. This instrument is useful also in clearing away the sand or gravel, to facilitate the landing of the cannon. The Gemini also carries a six-pounder, and a proportionate number of men more than the Cancer. Those vessels, when heaviest laden, draw only eighteen inches water, so that they are most useful in running into shallow places, and landing cannon with the greatest expedition.

"*Five o'clock*, P.M.—At one o'clock, Sir Sidney Smith, accompanied by Major Clubley, of the East York Militia, and some naval and military officers, went on board the Cancer, while the rest of his party got on board the Gemini, and, it being then flood-tide, the wind at N.N.E., they proceeded out of the harbour, steering a S.W. course. Both the piers were crowded with company to witness this interesting spectacle: a number of officers and their wives, and, in short, all the *élégantes* of the towns, were assembled to behold the brave Sir Sidney; while the oldest inhabitants of this his native place hailed him as the ornament and honour of their town; many remembered him a little boy, and he recognised his old friends, as he passed through them, with the

greatest kindness and affection. Sir Sidney's flotilla (as I may call it) was attended by a ten-oared galley and the Diligence cutter. Having stood for some leagues out to sea, they tacked and stood before the wind; here one of the greatest perfections of those boats was fully displayed. They ran before the wind with the greatest rapidity, outstripping even the cutter and galley, which are the swiftest sailing-vessels we have. While Sir Sidney was practising these movements, L'Utilité frigate, of thirty-eight guns, belonging to the Boulogne squadron, passed in full sail from the Downs for that station; and when she came abreast of the harbour, fired a gun for her pilot. Soon after the Desperate gun-brig hove in sight from the Downs: this ship was ordered to attend Sir Sidney, and had on board twenty privates of the royal artillery, sent from Ramsgate to work the guns on board Sir Sidney's boats. All this added to a most beautiful day, and a distinct view of the French coast, the *coup d'œil* made the scene enchanting. After trying those boats in every way which they could possibly be managed, through the whole of which they appeared to work with great ease and convenience, the artillery from the Desperate were put on board them, and several shots were fired in different directions, without having any visible appearance upon the vessels: they were then brought into the roads, and run on shore on that part of the strand where the brigade usually parade, near to the cottage inhabited by Sir Sidney's aunt. The cannon were landed in a moment of time, with the greatest ease; and several shot being fired by the way of experiment, they were again, in an instant, shipped

with the most apparent ease and expedition; and while Sir Sidney and his party retired to regale themselves on shore, the boats were brought again into the harbour to their original moorings. I understand it is the intention of Sir Sidney to go to Ramsgate in them tomorrow, wind and weather permitting. Admiral Lord Keith was to have been of the party to try these boats; but from what cause the gallant lord's absence arose, I could not learn, but am told it is his lordship's intention to meet them at Ramsgate. "A. B."

On striking his broad pendant and going on shore, in May, 1804, he was promoted to the honourable appointment of colonel of the Royal Marines (his commission bearing date 23rd April); and on the 9th of November, 1805, was appointed a flag officer of his majesty's fleet.

The annexed letter of Sir Sidney to Lord Mulgrave is an excellent specimen of a superior officer of the navy making application to the first lord of the Admiralty, for the promotion of those who have served under him and for whose ability and good conduct he can vouch :—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD MULGRAVE.

"Cleveland Row, October 24, 1809.

"My dear Lord,

"I am called upon by Captain W. Knight and Lieutenant G. Hillier, the two officers who, in their turns of duty, commanded the seamen on the walls of Acre, (and who worked the *four* pieces of cannon we took from Buonaparte, and which were all we had to oppose

the fire of the *twenty-four* we obliged him to leave behind him,) to certify to your lordship the fact of their having been so employed under my eye, with my opinion of their conduct: this I recorded at the time; and I feel it incumbent on me to comply with their request on this occasion, in order that they may come under your consideration in the comparison you have been kind enough to shew me you make, as to the claims and merits of all whose names are laid before you. Both were lieutenants of the Tigre and Antelope with me, both landed when I did (after the winter's cruise off Flushing, which destroyed the ship's company) as ill as myself; they have never recovered active health since, though I have; and they now request a step of rank to gild their declining days: 'tis all they look for at present, though, being both younger than me by many years, they may recover as I have, and then their activity and bravery may be again manifested as heretofore. Captain W. Knight (a commander) resides No. 5, Trafalgar-place, Plymouth-dock. Lieutenant G. Hillier is in the Fire-ship, off Flushing; his petition to the board will be before the secretary (with my note in confirmation of the statement) to-day.

"After the favour your lordship has always shewn me in listening to my statements of the services of officers, I am diffident of mentioning new names: these I believe are already before you, and I cannot in justice to them refuse to remind you of their claims. Had I beaten Buonaparte's army with regular means, in short, had I had *an army* to do it with, I should of course have been rewarded, as others have been, for services not greater in difficulty or in results; a peerage and a red

riband have been considered matters of course in such cases: I never asked anything, but I am bound to certify facts where *others* are concerned. On this principle, I cannot omit to express my entire approbation of Lieutenant Seward, late first of the Foudroyant, and now of the Orpheus, at the Nore. He was (with his chief) displaced from a situation which gave him a fair chance for promotion, by the effect of the same intrigue and misconception; and, although I may be half satisfied by Mr. Canning's telling me, that he 'has told the king he has seen that I was authorised to act with a discretionary power,' others still smart under the humiliation and pecuniary embarrassment of such a sudden supersedure; and when the misunderstandings of ministers in other departments reach *naval* officers, 'tis natural they should look to their own for favour to assuage the pain of an unmerited blow.

"Lieutenant Nourillian, whose name I begged leave to lay before your lordship at Fulham, for an appointment to one of the new gun-brigs, now coming forward to guard the coast from the privateers that make my windows rattle under Dover Cliff, as the inhabitants write me word, is appointed to the Cæsar, off Flushing: he requests of me to beg his commission may be cancelled; he, too, has had his heavy tour of duty during a winter on that station, and deprecates the repetition. He is one of my school, a keen cruiser, enterprising, and personally brave, as he proved when I used to send him to deprive the French of their cannon on the shores of Calabria, from whence we removed *every gun for two hundred miles of coast;* and he is very fit for the service above-mentioned, which your lordship must

have much at heart; and, under-Captain Boxer, (one of the best pilots for the French coast between Havre and Naples,) would soon keep those vermin within their own harbours. Having acquitted myself of the above duties, I must (on quite another score) put the enclosed letter from the Dowager Lady Spencer under your lordship's eye, as it explains the object better than I could do. I ought not to presume to mention it without such an introduction of a person, who has not served with me.

"I am, my dear lord, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

CHAPTER V.

SICILY AND CALABRIA.

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH APPOINTED TO A SEPARATE AND SECRET EXPEDITION.—SAILS IN THE POMPÉE TO PALERMO.—RELIEVES GAETA.—ATTACKS AND TAKES THE STRONG FORTRESS OF CAPRI.—VISITS NAPLES, AND FINDS JOSEPH BUONAPARTE ON THE THRONE.—LEAVES HIM, IN THE MIDST OF A FÊTE, UNDISTURBED.—VARIOUS OPERATIONS ON THE COAST OF CALABRIA.—THE BATTLE OF MAIDA.

1805—1807.

A PROMOTION of admirals having taken place on the 9th of November, 1805, which included Sir Sidney Smith, he was on that day promoted to the rank of rear-admiral of the Blue squadron; and in the following month was directed to proceed to Plymouth, and take command of the Pompée, of eighty-four guns. On the 15th of January, 1806, he hoisted his flag on board that ship, and received his orders to proceed to the Mediterranean, and to place himself under command of Vice-Admiral Lord Collingwood for his further proceedings.

The service on which the rear-admiral was about to proceed, being of a special nature, no public instructions were issued to him at home from the Admiralty, but they were personally communicated to him by Mr. Pitt, at the suggestion of Lord Nelson, during his lordship's short month's abode at his favourite retreat of Merton, after his most anxious and harassing pursuit in search of the

French fleet as far as to the West India islands. It would seem, from the following extract of a memorial drawn up by Sir Sidney Smith, that Lord Nelson, on being made acquainted with the nature of what was intended, had strongly recommended Sir Sidney to Mr. Pitt as the officer best qualified and most fit for the execution of the service intended to be undertaken, and requested that he might be placed on the Mediterranean establishment, as an officer under his lordship's command, which unfortunately was rendered impossible, by the splendid victory of Trafalgar having been purchased at the expense of the lamented death of this noble and gallant officer.

The memorial, above referred to, states "that the memorialist was solicited by the late Lord Nelson, and proposed by his lordship to Mr. Pitt, for the particular service of executing the promise made by Great Britain to Austria, at the time of the renewal of the alliance with that power, that a British naval force should be appropriated and employed to act offensively on the coasts of Italy, in such manner as to operate as a powerful diversion in that quarter, and so as to prevent the occurrence of similar events to those which had driven the King of the two Sicilies from Naples in the former war; or, at any rate, to secure the island of Sicily to that sovereign.

"This proposed plan of operation was confidentially communicated to the memorialist, as a secret to be carefully kept among those concerned and to be employed; and memorialist was sent by Lord Nelson to confer personally with Mr. Pitt on the subject, who was pleased to signify his approbation of the selection of the

individual, and of the plan of conjoint operation as laid down by his lordship on Zanoni's map of Italy—a plan of operations which Lord Nelson had detailed, as arising from his local experience in the former war."

He further explained generally to Sir Sidney Smith, that the object of the expedition was to restore to King Ferdinand the sovereignty of the two Sicilies, and especially the territories of the kingdom of Naples, of which he had been dispossessed by Buonaparte, whose revolutionary armies were overrunning a great portion of Europe, and among the rest the coasts and islands of Italy.

By virtue of a treaty he had concluded with Ferdinand, acceding to the removal of the French troops which had occupied Naples and the Neapolitan territory, the conditions were, that he, Ferdinand, should not only maintain a strict neutrality in the war in which France was engaged, but that he should not permit the troops of any of the allied powers, with whom France was at war, to be received in any part of his dominions, nor in any way assisted, nor suffer any ships of war of the belligerent powers to enter any of his ports.

To these, or some such conditions, which the king had not the power to fulfil, he subscribed; and they were infringed almost immediately by both English and French ships of war entering the ports of Sicily and Naples, which Ferdinand, if so disposed, had not the means of preventing; but the failure of which was enough for Buonaparte to take advantage of as a breach of the treaty, and to send a large force into Calabria, under Joseph Buonaparte, who took possession of

Naples as sovereign thereof, and drove Ferdinand to seek for refuge in Palermo; and Buonaparte forthwith issued, from his head-quarters in Austria, a proclamation, that the Neapolitan dynasty had ceased to reign, and Joseph Buonaparte was therein declared King of Naples.

To restore Ferdinand to the possession of his legitimate dominion of the Neapolitan territories, was the object of the present expedition, or, perhaps, more correctly speaking, to create a diversion in favour of Austria. Whatever the real object might have been, Lord Collingwood had received instructions to prepare a squadron to be placed under the orders of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, for the special service on which he was to be employed.

On his arrival at Palermo, on the 21st of April, 1806, he found that Lord Collingwood had sent thither three sail of the line, the Excellent, Athénienne, and Intrepid, with which, and the Pompée, and a fifth ship of the line, the Eagle, which joined him afterwards, he proceeded in the execution of his orders, which he there found addressed to him from his lordship, and lost no time in carrying them into execution. Of course the plan of operations was grounded on the minute of Lord Nelson placed in the hands of Mr. Pitt, which the latter had confidentially communicated generally to Sir Sidney Smith; the principal object being that of recovering Naples, and its territories in Calabria, from the French, by disembarking the forces on that coast to co-operate with the King of Sicily's faithful subjects, the inhabitants thereof, for the expulsion of King Joseph and his French intruders. Sir Sidney lost no time in commencing operations, the

result of which is fully detailed in the following letter addressed to Lord Collingwood:—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.

"Pompée, at anchor off Scalea, May 24, 1806.

"My Lord,

"I arrived at Palermo in the Pompée on the 21st of last month, and took on me the command of the squadron your lordship has done me the honour to place under my orders. I found things in the state that may be well imagined, on the government being displaced from its capital, with the loss of one of the two kingdoms, and the dispersion of the army assembled in Calabria. The judicious arrangement made by Captain Sotheron of the ships under his orders, and the position of the British army under Sir John Stuart at Messina, had, however, prevented further mischief. I had the satisfaction of learning that Gaeta still held out, although as yet without succour, from a mistaken idea, much too prevalent, that the progress of the French armies is irresistible.

"It was my first care to see that the necessary supplies should be safely conveyed to the governor; and I had the inexpressible satisfaction of conveying the most essential articles to Gaeta, and of communicating to his serene highness the governor (on the breach battery, which he never quits) the assurance of further support to any extent within my power, for the maintenance of that important fortress, hitherto so long preserved by his intrepidity and example. Things wore a new aspect immediately on the arrival of the ammunition. The redoubled fire of the enemy with red-hot shot into

the Mole (being answered with redoubled vigour) did not prevent the landing of everything we had brought, together with four of the Excellent's lower-deck-guns, to answer this galling fire, which bore directly on the landing-place.

"A second convoy, with the Intrepid, placed the garrison beyond the immediate want of anything essential; and the enemy, from advancing his nearest approaches within two hundred and fifty yards, was reduced to the defensive in a degree, dreading one of those sorties which the Prince of Hesse had already shewn him his garrison was equal to, and which was become a much safer operation, now that the flanking fire of eight Neapolitan gun-boats I had brought with me, in addition to four his highness had already used successfully, would cover it even to the rear of the enemy's trenches. Arrangements were put in train for this purpose, and, according to a wise suggestion of his serene highness, measures were taken for the embarkation of a small party from the garrison, to land in the rear of the enemy's batteries to the northward.

"I confided the execution of the naval part of this arrangement to Captain Richardson, of his majesty's ship Juno, putting the Neapolitan frigate and gun-boats under his orders. His serene highness possessing the experience of European warfare, and a most firm mind, having no occasion for further aid on the spot, I felt I could quit the garrison without apprehension for its safety in such hands, with the present means of defence, and that I could best co-operate with him, by drawing some of the attacking force off for the defence of Naples.

"I accordingly proceeded thither with the line-of-battle ships named in the margin.* The enemy's apprehension of attack occasioned them to convey some of the battering train from the trenches before Gaeta to Naples. The city was illuminated on account of Joseph Buonaparte proclaiming himself King of the Two Sicilies! The junction of the Eagle made us five sail of the line, and it would have been easy for their fire to have interrupted this ceremony and show of festivity, but I considered that the unfortunate inhabitants had evil enough on them; that the restoration of the capital to its lawful sovereign, and its fugitive inhabitants, would be no gratification, if it should be found a heap of ruins, ashes, and bones; and that, as I had no force to land and keep order, in case of the French army retiring to the fortresses, I should leave an opulent city a prey to the licentious part of the community, who would not fail to profit by the confusion the flames would occasion. Not a gun, therefore, was fired; but no such consideration operated on my mind, to prevent me dislodging the French garrison from the island of Capri, which, from its situation, protecting the coasting communication southward, was a great object for the enemy to keep, and by so much more, one for me to wrest from him.

"I accordingly summoned the French commandant to surrender: on his non-acquiescence, (see the annexed correspondence,) I directed Captain Rowley, in his Majesty's ship Eagle, to cover the landing of marines and boats' crews, and caused an attack to be

* Pompée, Excellent, Athénienne, Intrepid.

made under his orders. That brave officer placed his ship judiciously, nor did he open his fire till she was secured, and his distance marked by the effect of the enemy's musketry on his quarter-deck, where the first lieutenant, James Crawley, fell wounded, and a seaman was killed:—Captain Rowley regretted much the services of that meritorious officer in such a critical moment. He has since recovered.

"The short duration of an hour's fire from both decks of the Eagle, (between nine and ten o'clock,) with that of two Neapolitan mortar-boats, under an active officer, Lieutenant Rivera, drove the enemy from the vineyards within their walls. The marines were landed, and gallantly led by Captain Bunce; the seamen in like manner, under Lieutenant Morrell of the Eagle, and Lieutenant Redding of the Pompée, mounted the steps, for such was their road, headed by the officers nearest to the narrow pass, by which alone they could ascend. Lieutenant Carrol had thus an opportunity of particularly distinguishing himself. Captain Stannus, commanding the Athénienne's marines, gallantly pressing forward, gained the heights; and the French commandant fell by his hand: this event being known, the enemy beat a parley; a letter from the second in command claimed the terms offered; but being dated on the 12th, after midnight, some difficulty occurred, my limitation as to time being precise; but, on the assurance that the drum beat before twelve, the capitulation annexed was signed, and the garrison allowed to march out, and pass over to Naples with every honour of war, after the interment of their former brave commander with due respect.

"We thus became masters of this important post. The enemy not having been allowed time to bring two pieces of heavy cannon with their ammunition to Capri, the boat containing them, together with a boat loaded with timber for the construction of gun-boats at Castelamare, took refuge at Maffa, on the main-land opposite to the island, where the guard had hauled the whole upon the beach. I detached the two mortar-boats and a Gaeta privateer, under the orders of Lieutenants Falivane and Rivera, to bring them off, sending only Mr. Williams, midshipman of the Pompée, from the squadron, on purpose to let the Neapolitans have the credit of the action, which they fairly obtained; for, after dislodging the enemy from a strong tower, they not only brought off the boats and two thirty-five pounders, but the powder (twenty barrels) from the magazine of the tower, before the enemy assembled in force.

The projected sorties took place on the 13th and 15th, in the morning, in a manner to reflect the highest credit on the part of the garrison and naval force employed. The covering fire from the fleet was judiciously directed by Captains Richardson and Vicuna, whose conduct on this whole service merits my warmest approbation. I enclose Captain Richardson's two letters, as best detailing these affairs, and a list of the killed and wounded on the 12th.

"On the 19th ult., the boats of the Pompée, under Lieutenant Beecroft, brought out a merchant-vessel from Scalvitra, near Salerno, although protected by a heavy fire of musketry. That officer and Mr. Sterling distinguished themselves much. The enemy are

endeavouring to establish a land-carriage thence to Naples.

"On the 23rd, obtaining intelligence that the enemy had two thirty-six pounders in a small vessel on the beach at Scalea, I sent the Pompée's boats in for them. But the French troops were too well posted in the houses of the town, for them to succeed without the cover of the ship. I accordingly stood in with the Pompée, sent a message to the inhabitants to withdraw, which being done, a few of the Pompée's lower-deck guns cleared the town and neighbouring hills, while the launch, commanded by Lieutenant Mouraylion, with Lieutenant Oats of the marines, and Mr. Williams, drove the French, with their armed adherents, from the guns, and took possession of the castle and of them. Finding, on my landing, that the tower was tenable against any force the enemy could bring against me from the nearest garrison in a given time, I took post with the marines, and under cover of their position, by the extreme exertions of Lieutenant Carrol, Mr. Ives, master, and the petty officers and boat's crews, the guns were conveyed to the Pompée, with twenty-two barrels of powder.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following summons was addressed to the commandant of Capri, and the capitulation took place as follows:—

TO THE COMMANDANT OF THE FRENCH TROOPS AT CAPRI.

"On board his Majesty's ship La Pompée,
May 11, 1806.

"SIR,

"Before I make a regular attack, which must necessarily reduce an insulated and irregular fortress without works, I have thought proper, according to the custom of war, to summon you to evacuate the post which you occupy. If you refuse, I inform you that you will be forced to yield upon terms more or less favourable, according to the degree of force, and time which you may oblige me to employ to reduce you to this extremity. Thus, sir, you see that the terms of the surrender of the post depend upon yourself *to-day*; in the hope of an answer which will spare blood on both sides.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

THE COMMANDANT OF CAPRI TO REAR-ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Capri, May 11, 1806.

"I received, sir, your letter dated this day, and for answer I have to observe to you, that a true soldier does not surrender till he has tried his force with that which attacks him. You are, sir, too good and brave a soldier to blame me, if I do not accept your polite invitation.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "CHERVET, *Capt.* 101*st Regt.*"

CAPTAIN L'ÉTANG, COMMANDING THE FRENCH TROOPS, TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH, REAR-ADMIRAL OF THE ENGLISH SQUADRON.

"Island of Capri, May 12, 1806.

"Good fortune having favoured you, together with the advantage you had in landing, oblige me to make you the following proposals:—

"To give up to you the town of Capri and all the island, reserving to myself, for my honour and that of the troops I command, the liberty of returning to Naples, with arms and baggage, at the time which it shall please you to grant me. I expect this generosity from your hands, to avoid bloodshed on both sides; in default of which I shall be obliged to continue operations.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"L'ÉTANG."

CAPITULATION.

"Capri, at midnight, June 11-12th, 1806.

"In consequence of the good conduct of the officers and troops of the garrison of Capri, the English commanders have granted the following articles, to wit:—

"Art. 1. The officers, subalterns, and soldiers shall embark as soon as possible, with the arms and baggage belonging to them.

"Art. 2. They shall be conveyed to Pozzuoli.

"Art. 3. The English officers engage to cause the French troops to be respected as much as possible during the time they shall be in their power.

"Art. 4. The French officers make the same engage-

ment towards the troops and vessels which shall transport them to their destination.

"This present treaty was concluded at midnight of the 11-12th of May, 1806, between Captain Charles Rowley, captain of the ship, and M. L'Étang, captain of the 22nd regiment of light infantry, commanding in the island of Capri.

"To which have signed:

"L'ÉTANG,

"CHARLES ROWLEY."

"*N.B.*—The commandant since wishing to disembark with his troops at Massa, invites the English admiral to grant it him.

"Approved.

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

List of Killed and Wounded in taking Capri, May 12, 1806.

EAGLE.—Lieutenant James Crawly, first lieutenant, slightly wounded; one seaman and one marine killed; four seamen and six marines wounded.

List of Killed and Wounded in the sortie of Gaeta, May 15, 1806.

Divisions of the boats detached from the JUNO.—Four seamen killed and five seamen wounded.

(Signed) W. SIDNEY SMITH.

H. RICHARDSON TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"His Majesty's ship Juno, Gaeta, May 14, 1806.

"SIR,

"The enemy having erected a battery of four guns on the point of La Madonna della Catterra, his serene highness the Prince of Hesse ordered sixty men from the garrison to be embarked in four fishing-

boats; and on the night of the 12th I proceeded with the Juno's boats armed, accompanied by those of his Sicilian majesty's frigate Minerva, commanded by Captain Viengna, and landed the troops, undiscovered, in a small bay in the rear of the enemy's works. Lieutenant Parisio, who commanded the party, having advanced, the enemy abandoned the post, after firing to alarm their camp; but before they could arrive with a reinforcement, the guns were spiked, the gun-carriages destroyed, and the troops re-embarked without any loss.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "H. RICHARDSON."

H. RICHARDSON TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"His Majesty's ship Juno, at Gaeta, May 16, 1806.

"SIR,

"His serene highness the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal having signified to me on the 14th instant his intention of making a sortie early on the following day, to attack the French lines, and directing me to have the necessary arrangements made, that the boats might co-operate with and support the troops from the garrison, I caused the gun-boats to be divided into three dvisions, (four in each,) and delivered copies of the enclosed order to Captain Viengna, of his Sicilian majesty's frigate Minerva, and Lieutenants le Chevalier Beliamo and Valguirna.

"The sortie took place precisely at half-past eight o'clock yesterday morning, and was attended with success. The Neapolitan troops having driven the enemy

out of their trenches, and taken the Serapo battery, (the guns of which they spiked,) returned into the garrison with little loss, bringing in with them a captain of engineers and some others: their prisoners, the number I have not yet learnt.

"They were supported in their attack and retreat, on their left along the shore of Serapo, by the boats of this ship, armed, under the direction of Lieutenant Wells of the navy, and Lieutenant Mant of the marines, and the first division of gun-boats, which I took the command of; and on their right, by the second division, under the orders of Lieutenant Valguirna. The third division (having embarked fifty men from the garrison) were ordered, with the Minerva frigate, to make a diversion on the other side of the bay; but, owing to a calm, the Minerva could not reach her station, though the boats succeeded in landing the troops, and brought off some cattle; the fire from this division having kept in check, and prevented from advancing, a considerable body of the enemy's cavalry, which were sent to attack the party landed.

"The loss of the garrison I have not yet understood; that of the boats is, first division, two killed; second division, two killed and five wounded. The enemy must have suffered considerably, as more than one hundred muskets have been brought in.

"I think it my duty to recommend to your notice, on account of their good conduct and courage, the lieutenants of his Sicilian majesty's navy, Le Chevalier Beliamo, Valguirna, and Pughese.

"I have the honour to be, &c,

(Signed) "H. Richardson."

Sir Sidney had been entrusted by Lord Collingwood with the defence of the dominions of Sicily and Calabria, by all the means in his power; and he naturally concluded that the augmentation of those means and of that power would result in inducing the peasantry of Calabria to rise *en masse*, and act against the French, and thus be most advantageously employed, under proper officers, to accomplish the end in view. The direct communication between Naples and the Calabrian provinces had already been cut off, partly by means of British artillery, landed from the Gulf of Policastro, and partly by the co-operation of the native armed peasantry, who had great confidence in, and were strictly obedient to, the rear-admiral, so long as he maintained and paid them, and no longer.

Sicily, he says, was thoroughly secure, by the disarmament of all the batteries along the coast of Italy, under which an invading flotilla could be equipped or take shelter in its passage along shore, and by the capture and occupation of Amantea and Tropen, the two keys of the Gulf of St. Euphemia, which Sir Sidney felt it his duty to summon and seize upon, by means of the armed peasantry. His object was to afford assistance to the force which Sir John Stuart had decided upon stationing on the plain, in order to meet Regnier, who was understood to have weakened the garrisons in the neighbourhood to strengthen his army. The rear-admiral, seeing what was about to take place, shifted his flag into the Apollo, to enable him to approach the beach nearer than the Pompée could, and thus to co-operate more effectually with the army, by manifesting the means of covering a possible

retreat, and by throwing in the 20th regiment, on the left, *en potence*, by means of a float, at a critical moment during the battle which he anticipated, and which speedily took place.

On the 6th July, General Regnier, being apprised of the disembarkation of the British forces, made a rapid march from Reggio, uniting his detached corps, and advanced in confidence of defeating the British troops. He encamped near the village of Maida, on the plain of Euphemia, with about four thousand infantry and three hundred cavalry, expecting to be joined by three thousand more troops in two or three days. Sir John Stuart determined, therefore, to advance towards his position; his total rank and file, including the royal artillery, being four thousand seven hundred and ninety-five. Regnier should have kept his position, the difficulties of which were such, that General Stuart says he could not positively have made an impression upon him; but quitting this advantage, and having to cross the river, he came down with his whole force upon the open plain.

The two corps fired reciprocally a few rounds, about one hundred yards apart, "when," says the general, "as if by mutual agreement, the firing was suspended, and in close compact order, and awful silence, they advanced towards each other, until their bayonets began to cross." The enemy at this momentous crisis became appalled—they broke and endeavoured to fly; but it was too late—they were overtaken with the most dreadful slaughter; they fled with dismay, leaving the plain covered with their dead and wounded. Above seven hundred bodies were buried

upon the field. The wounded and prisoners, among whom was a whole list of officers, were above one thousand; above one thousand more were left at the different posts, who offered to surrender, to be protected from the fury of the people. The total loss to the enemy was estimated at four thousand men. That of General Stuart was, one officer, three sergeants, forty-one rank and file killed; eleven officers, eight sergeants, two drummers, two hundred and sixty-one rank and file wounded.

"The scene of action," says Sir John Stuart, in his letter from the plains of St. Euphemia, near Maida, 4th July, 1806, "was too far from the sea to enable us to derive any direct co-operation from the navy; but Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, who had arrived in the bay the evening before the action, had directed such a disposition of ships and gun-boats as would have greatly favoured us, had events obliged us to retire. The solicitude, however, of every part of the navy to be of use to us, the promptitude with which the seamen hastened on shore with our supplies, their anxiety to assist our wounded, and the tenderness with which they treated them, would have been an affecting circumstance to observers, even the most indifferent. To me it was particularly so."

"Captain Fellowes, of his majesty's ship Apollo, has been specially attached to this expedition by the rear-admiral; and in every circumstance of professional service, I beg leave to mention our grateful obligations to this officer, as well as to Captains Cochet and Watson, agents of transports, who acted under his orders."

Just as this battle had been fought, Sir Sidney was

apprised by letter from General Fox of his arrival at Messina with reinforcements, to take the chief command of the troops intended to act on this coast, which was most acceptable to Sir Sidney, who replied to the general as follows:—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO GENERAL FOX.

"Pompée, Policastra Bay, August 5, 1806.

"DEAR SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of two letters from you, written on your arrival at Messina, announcing that event. I shall have the same pleasure in meeting your wishes, in every thing wherein the powers of the two services combined can be applied with advantage against the enemy, such as I have hitherto had in complying with, and endeavouring to anticipate, those of Sir John Stuart.

"I have left, and shall always leave, at least one of the few frigates under my orders, near head-quarters, that her captain may carry through the details of any service that may be required of the smaller vessels, co-operating with the army and protecting the transports therewith; and likewise a proper force to protect any detachment, you may please to make, to annoy any part of the enemy's coast; or to afford succour and protection to the armed inhabitants of Calabria, who are successfully resisting the attempts of the French to re-establish their government in the Calabrias, which was completely overthrown by the effects of the signal victory obtained by the British army under Sir John Stuart on the 4th ult.

"I have been occupied in endeavouring to give such a direction to their zeal and enthusiasm, as to ensure

this result, so much to be wished for the safety of Sicily. The passes in this bordering province of Basilicala being considered by military men as defensible, and as having been lost very improperly by the Neapolitan army in its retreat, I have thought I could not serve the British army better, than in engaging the chiefs of the *massi*, in correspondence with me, to devote their attention and force to this object, supporting them by ammunition and money, as far as my resources went. Arms I had none but our own to give them; and, considering the necessity of keeping the line of battle ships complete and collected, in readiness to oppose any naval operation the enemy may attempt, I have not ventured to detach many men from the ships. A few regular troops are absolutely necessary to give consistence and connexion to the mass. Those of the natives who are brave are exceedingly so, and I beg leave to put you in correspondence with the chiefs who may be depended upon in this quarter; viz. Lieutenant-Colonel Stoduti and his son Don Francesco Major Necco, Don Alessandro Mandari, at Maratea, and the Duke of Poderia, at Camarotta, who have the greatest influence in this part of the country.

"Since the detachment from the Maisters transport took the fort of Sopri, and intercepted the convoy from Naples at Lauria, the three first-named of these chiefs have disputed the ground, with various success, in many sharp but of course irregular conflicts. The posts of Rocca Gloriosa and Casalnuovo have been won and lost. The ardour of Stoduti the younger occasioned him to commit himself and get beaten in the valley of

Diano; the result of this was, that Major Necco's position at Lago Negro was forced yesterday by General Gardanne's column, said to be about three thousand men, marching to relieve Regnier and *invade Sicily*. Their confidence is according to their numbers, and their numbers according to their pay.

"If you agree with me, that the ultimate defence of Sicily depends on keeping the theatre of war at this distance from it, you will send arms, ammunition, money, light artillery, and at least one thousand troops of the line, to this quarter. Had the regiment in Sicily, which I had reason to hope was disposable, from Sir John Stuart's having consented to their embarkation, been at Lago Negro yesterday, we should not have lost the post, such is the ground. It is recoverable. The peasantry of Sorracca cut a detachment, sent to Capri, to pieces last night: I send you two survivors, prisoners, to interrogate. I have a division of gun-boats in Capri to meet the column I see coming over the mountain: another division yesterday dislodged the party that came without cannon to occupy Policastro, and now keeps it clear. I have a station for gun-boats at Palinuro, from whence I annoy an extent of coast to Salerno; from thence the Capri division takes up the question, and co-operates with the insurgents.

"Colonel Lowe will have communicated the facilities that quarter offers for this mode of warfare. I shall be glad to learn, that this officer is authorised by you to act on the information he receives. I shall most readily and gladly co-operate with him, or any other you may delegate the power to, in anything you may direct; and I earnestly call upon you to tell me distinctly, whether

I am right in my idea that these operations aid and cover the army in Calabria and Sicily, by thus occupying and diminishing the enemy's force here : if so, you will no doubt support and direct them according to your views, when I shall feel myself more at liberty to extend mine to other quarters.

"At present, I feel that I am stemming a torrent which it would be criminal in me to let rush on, though the pressure is heavy; for if the passes between here and Cosenza are not disputed, we shall again be reduced to the defensive in the Straits of Messina, and Scylla perhaps be attacked before it is rebuilt; and I must candidly tell you that my naval means, limited and restricted as they are, with a very inadequate rowing force, cannot with certainty oppose the passage of a rowing force in a calm, considering the shortness of the distance, and the strength and set of the current. I beg you will communicate your wishes to me here : they shall be obeyed as commands with alacrity.

"I have the honour to be, &c., W. Sidney Smith."

The following is General Fox's reply to that of the 5th of August, by which it appears that the general does not seem to fall in, very cordially, with Sir Sidney's notions concerning Calabria.

GENERAL FOX TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Messina, August 8, 1806.

"Dear Sir,

"I have been honoured with your letter of the 5th instant, and beg to return you my thanks for the obliging sentiments you are pleased to express towards

me; and am happy to hear it is your intention to leave one of the frigates near here, which may be of essential consequence to the service.

"Brigadier-general Ackland, some days ago, sailed with two regiments, to co-operate with you in making demonstrations where it might appear necessary. Provisions, ammunition, and money have been sent after him, and he is instructed in the manner and extent to which he may use them.

"It is impossible for me, at this distance, to give any further opinion, until I hear his report. I should suppose the landing of any troops in Calabria, unless it was in much larger numbers than it would be possible to afford, would be very hazardous, and the advantages that might be reaped from it would not justify the risk.

"With regard to many parts of your letter, I conceive the business must be discussed, and talked over, when I have the pleasure of an interview with you.

"It is certain, that if the enemy is determined upon the repossession of Calabria, and sends down an immense force, we cannot prevent it; but, with the assistance of the navy, (which I am sure we shall always have,) I think this island may be secured. If the French do not make this an object, they probably will withdraw their troops out of these two provinces.

"General Baron Acton is gone, or is immediately going, to take the command in the Calabrias, to direct and regulate the *massi*, and command the Sicilian troops.

"I have the honour to be, &c., W. R. Fox.

"*P. S.*—At this present moment we are short of arms, but I have sent to Malta for more."

The following letter of Sir Sidney is not calculated to inspire General Fox with more favourable notions of the Calabrise, nor does it exhibit Sir Sidney in his usual high spirits. The fact is, that without money or the means to obtain it, the exertions of the natives are not to be depended on, as Sir Sidney by a little experience soon discovered.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO GENERAL FOX.

"His Majesty's ship Pompée, off Policastro, August 10, 1806.

"SIR,

"I am sorry to inform you that Necco's corps, harassed, famished, and without pay, would not stay with him to oppose the progress of the enemy at Lauria, the most defensible and important post next to Lago Negro. There is another pass, a few miles south of Rotunda, whither I am endeavouring to direct the *massi*. General Gardanne's attention is so divided between the two objects of forming a junction with Regnier at Cassano, and covering his rear from a disembarkation from the hovering convoy in sight, that he has marched off in two columns: one is gone by a place called Sicili, north-east of Policastro, the other by Rossano, northwards; leaving us all this country as a resource for fresh beef and vegetables, &c., which I profit by.

"I patroled round Policastro myself yesterday, and found it quite deserted. The inhabitants begin to return to their homes without fear. I hold the posts of Palinuro and Scalea; the shelter of the former cape and the island of Denan, northward of the latter, being useful as naval stations for gun-boats and small

cruisers, to intercept the coasting conveyance of food for the French army or artillery, the latter of which can only be carried by sea.

"Sir John Stuart and I having agreed as to the utility of holding Scalea or Amantea, or both, I have victualled and placed Major Necco's corps at Scalea and Denan. If you think that corps, now of two hundred men mustered, (but originally four hundred, and easily augmented to that number again, or more,) useful here, it must be paid according to the proportion established in 1799, which has been held out to the Calabrise by the king's officers, as an inducement to them to arm and assemble under their former chiefs. These posts have been established for the gun-boats and transports destined for the reception of the proscribed refugees, till the *massi* get forward again.

"I shall steer northward, and endeavour to co-operate with General Ackland by upwards of five hundred musketeers. I have (on shore at Palinuro) four hundred and forty-two ready to act, as he may require: these likewise must be paid, if they are meant to be kept together as a *noyau*, and I have no means. When this is in train I must go to Sardinia for water, that of this river being bad, having flax steeped in it, which renders it very noxious: I select Sardinia in preference to Sicily, as covering both islands better during the prevalence of the westerly winds. I hope to hear from you at Capri before I go. The Hydra protects General Ackland at present, till the Apollo's arrival. "I am, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

GENERAL FOX TO ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Messina, August 30, 1806.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have the honour to acknowledge your letter of the 21st instant, and feel much regret at the loss of Lieutenant Slesser, the other young gentlemen, and the number of brave seamen killed and wounded in the attack of Point Licosa.

"The late alarm of the enemy intending to advance into Lower Calabria has been attended by the most dreadful consequences: almost all the *capi di massi* immediately fled (among whom were Pane di Grano, Carbono, and several others, leaders of the *massi*) in the greatest confusion. These latter, since their first panic has been got over, have given into every latitude of horror and excess, murdering and plundering every person of property, and making the whole country desolate.

"In fact, I am fully convinced that no confidence nor dependence can be placed upon these people, and that our interference in the country is only giving opportunity to the lawless and vicious, to oppress and plunder the better sort of inhabitants; and encouraging a disposition to revolt, that will not in any way assist our cause, and bring upon them a tenfold vengeance from the French government.

"I have for some time past directed that no more arms nor ammunition should be distributed among them. It only leads the inhabitants to do mischief, and to plunder and oppress the more peaceable; and

causes dreadful individual mischief, without doing any general good.

"The defence of the island of Sicily is the great object of our naval and military force; and expending our means among the banditti of Calabria, I fear will not very effectually answer this end. If I might be allowed to give an opinion, I should think our purposes would be more effectually answered, by the gun-boats and other vessels, appropriated by you for that service, doing their utmost to prevent the enemy from sending their supplies coastways, without interfering in any way with the inhabitants or interior of the country; and I most strongly recommend that no more arms nor ammunition be given to them from the ships.

"The enemy have no guns nor warlike stores there at this moment; and I trust, by means of our naval force, you will be able to prevent their getting any by sea. Thus we may keep our post secure, without encouraging, at an enormous expense, a sort of predatory civil war, which cannot answer any general good purpose, though fraught with individual mischief and barbarity.

"As, from the variety of services at present, and likely soon to be afoot, that may require our transports, I must request you will, as soon as possible, send here the vessels named in the margin,* to remain here at my disposal. You have, no doubt, retained such transports as you judged necessary for the naval division; and those above mentioned, that I selected for

* The Crown, Ellice, Symmetry, John and Robert, William, and Comet.

the troops and the military service, I hope will be sent here with as little delay as possible.

"I shall at all times be happy to communicate with you, and be much obliged to you for your information that you are good enough to send me respecting Calabria; and if I find the population can be organized, or directed to any useful purpose, I shall be willing to give them such support as may be judged expedient; but I must most earnestly request, that you will not encourage or make promises to the *capi*, or leaders of the *massi*, as this may only tend to counteract the measures I find it necessary to adopt.

"As to Sir John Moore, I have, no doubt fully, explained my sentiments and views when he saw you on board the Pompée. I shall add nothing further, than to urge the absolute necessity of the sending the above-mentioned transports here immediately.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. R. Fox."

After this, Sir Sidney's command ceased in Sicily and Calabria; and, in consequence of orders from home, his destination was suddenly changed. He received his fresh orders when at Palermo, and left that place on the 25th of January, 1807, for Malta, from which place he writes as follows to Lord Collingwood :—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.

"Pompée, off Malta, Feb. 3, 1807.

"My Lord,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your lordship's orders to put myself under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, with which I complied on the 25th ult., on his appearing off Palermo in the Royal George. I left copies of the orders and instructions under which I acted, by your lordship's direction, in the hands of Captain Rutherford, of his majesty's ship Swiftsure, senior officer in Palermo, ready for Captain Hallowell, on his arrival in the Tigre; and I now enclose, for your lordship's information, the latest reports I have received of the state of the unsuccessful war which the Calabrise are reduced to carry on, for want of the support and direction which might enable them to prevail against the dispirited troops that are feebly attacking them. Scylla will at all events remain to us, should Amantea fall, as no army can attack that peninsula without naval co-operation, similar to that which reduced it in July, with any possibility of success. Cotrone has the royal flag of Ferdinand IV. flying there, but with a feeble garrison, and that supposed not to be so well affected, since they have been left to their fate without supplies.

"I thus take my leave of this service, with the conscious certainty that I have acted from the purest motives for the common cause against the cruel and rapacious foe we have had to do with, on the general principle 'of pursuing a beaten and flying enemy, and to assist a known friend in view.' I have given every

support to the British army in my power, paying every deference to his majesty's minister plenipotentiary and the commander-in-chief, although they did not agree with me in the application of the general principle, which is, and I trust will remain, that on which his majesty's naval service habitually acts.

"In so doing I am happy to have met your lordship's approbation, as expressed in your letter of the ——; and in addition to that, I am happy in being able to lay before your lordship, I trust for your satisfaction, the enclosed flattering testimonial from the court of Palermo, which has not fallen a prey to the enemy, as it was expected they would have done, had the theatre of the war been allowed to reach the shores of Sicily, which I defended by keeping it at a distance. On this ground, I beg leave, through your lordship, to request his majesty's secretary of state to lay before the king his Sicilian majesty's gracious offer to me of the Order of St. Ferdinand, as granted to my ever to be lamented predecessor in that local service, Lord Nelson, in order that I may obtain his majesty's gracious permission to accept and wear the same.

"SIDNEY SMITH."

"Whitehall, August 25, 1807.

"The king has been graciously pleased, by warrant under his royal signet and sign-manual, to give and to grant unto Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight, Commander and Grand Cross of the Royal Swedish military Order of the Sword, and rear-admiral of the Blue squadron of his majesty's fleet, his royal license and permission that he may, in compliance with the desire

of his majesty Ferdinand IV., King of the two Sicilies accept and wear the Grand Cross of the Order of St. Ferdiñand and of Merit, conferred upon him by that sovereign.

"And also to order that this his majesty's concession and declaration, together with the relative documents, be registered in his college of arms."*

The sudden and unexpected orders he received when at Palermo deprived him of the opportunity which he had promised himself, of acquiring some detail of important points of information regarding Sicily. After his departure, Lord Collingwood paid a visit to Palermo, and has given some account, not a very favourable one, of that court. We know that, on the lamented but glorious death of Lord Nelson, Lord Collingwood succeeded as commander-in-chief of the Mediterranean, and after the recall of Sir Sidney Smith from his separate Sicilian and Calabrian expedition, his lordship visited Palermo, and gave a most unfavourable description of Sicily, Calabria, and Naples. "Sicily itself," he says, "is as weak as can be. It is a kingdom that has nothing in it which constitutes the strength of a country; but divided councils; a king, who *ought* to rule—a queen, who *will;* no army for its defence; its military works ruinous; without revenue, except just enough to support their gaieties; a nobility without attachment to a court, where foreigners find a preference; and a people, who, having nothing beyond their daily earnings, are indifferent as to who rules them, and look to a change for an amelioration of their condition. Every

* London Gazette, Aug. 22 to Aug. 25, 1807.

cause of weakness in a country is to be found here: factions alone are abundant."

His lordship's account of the court explains the state and condition of the provinces. "The king and queen," he says, "received me most graciously; the king having much the appearance and manner of a worthy, honest country-gentleman." And it seems that his occupations accorded with that character. "The king lives generally in the country, about four miles from the city, where he amuses himself in planting trees and shooting." His country-house is on a small scale, but is described as "the prettiest thing that can be." The queen finds but little favour in his lordship's eyes: "She would appear," he says, "to be penetrating into the souls and minds of every body that comes near her—would be thought a deep politician; yet all her schemes miscarry. In the distribution of stations in life for this world, so loose a morality and such a depravity of manners should never have been found perched upon a throne, from whence should issue the bright example of all that is good and great." This unfortunate lady's lot, he therefore concludes, must have been cast awry. "I have also seen," he says, "a great deal of the princesses and duchesses of Sicily; and all I shall say of them at present is, that the more I see of them, the more I bless my stars that I was born in England, and have got a darling wife who is not a princess."

One cannot but regret the character, though so slightly sketched, of the Queen of the two Sicilies, by the amiable and highly esteemed Lord Collingwood, and the more so after having recorded the very beau-

tiful letter she addressed, or is supposed to have addressed, in French, to Sir Sidney Smith, on his departure from Palermo, only the preceding year. The king, too, did all that was in his power, out of gratitude for the services and exertions of Sir Sidney in his cause, by bestowing on him the honour of the Order of the Grand Cross of St. Ferdinand and of Merit.

With that order sent to him on his departure was enclosed the queen's letter, which is as follows:—

"My very worthy and dear Admiral,

"I cannot find expressions sufficiently strong to convey the painful feeling which your departure, so unforeseen, has caused, both to me and to my whole family. I can only say that you are accompanied by our most sincere good wishes, and most particularly on my part, by the gratitude which will cease only with my life, for all that you have done for us, and for what you would moreover have done for us, if everything had not been thwarted, and your zeal and enterprise cramped.

"May you be as happy as my heart prays for, and may you continue, by fresh laurels, to augment your own glory and the number of the envious. I still cherish the hope of seeing you again in better times, and of giving you proof of those sentiments which at the present moment I cannot express; but you will find, in all times and places, (whatever may be the fate reserved for us,) our hearts gratefully attached to you, even unto the grave.

"Pray make my sincere compliments to the Captain (Dacre) and to all the officers of Le Pompée, as well

as my good wishes for their happiness. Assure them of the pain with which I witness their departure.

"I am, most truly,

"Your very sincere and devoted friend,

(Signed) "CHARLOTTE."

Wherever the lot of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith was cast, whether professionally or privately employed, his eye and his mind were attentively directed to objects of humanity, and to the means of affording relief to human sufferings, not only to friends and countrymen, but equally to foreigners and such as are accounted enemies. Having to call at Malta on his way to England, two classes of objects were brought to his attention; and his authority having ceased, it occurred to him that a statement drawn up by him, and addressed in a letter to his excellency General Fox, at Messina, was the most likely mode of obtaining relief, or, at any rate, of calling attention to the objects of his benevolent views.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO GENERAL FOX.

"Pompée, Malta, May 15, 1807.

"DEAR SIR,

"During my stay here, my attention has been called to a question of serious importance, the investigation of which has manifested to me an evil requiring an immediate remedy, not only as affecting humanity in general, but as its consequences must ultimately come home to ourselves.

"You are, perhaps, aware that the disease called the Mediterranean ulcer exists in some of our ships, and

in the naval hospital at Malta. Its origin, nature, and cure are alike unknown to the faculty; its virulent effects, and its spreading by infection to wounded patients coming within the sphere of its action, are all that is known of it. The rapidity with which muscles and bones are corroded by the *pus* discharged therefrom is such, that in many cases life can only be saved by immediate amputation; and the stumps of amputated patients, whose wounds degenerate into ulcers, are often obliged to be amputated again.

"Whether this disease is scorbutic or not, whether it originated at sea or in the hospitals, is not known to medical men; be that as it may, removal of the part and of the patient to another climate is the only remedy they have recourse to with any confidence. The French prisoners, whose diet by contract consists of entirely salt provisions, being afflicted with it in the prison, are removed to our naval hospital, where they are taken the same care of as our own men, there being no contract for their medical treatment, or change of diet in the prison.

"The whole of this arrangement calls loudly for a change, and it has been represented repeatedly, but hitherto without effect. No medical remedy can be applied at Malta without greater powers are vested in the hands of subordinate officers to dispose of the public money. I have thought it my duty, however, to apply the palliative remedy in my power, and have ordered the Ellis transport to be appropriated to convey the prisoners, invalided by survey, from the effects of this malignant ulcer, and all such as are disabled and incapable of serving, to Naples. I have

taken the opportunity of this ship's going, to add above twenty women and children, who crowd the prison, and eat their proportion of rations, at a time when we want that resource. It would be cruelty to give them the voyage to Gibraltar or England, to be landed in the north of France, when many of them belong to the south; it would be no less harsh to send the husbands away and land them in Italy. I trust, therefore, you will agree with me, that humanity and propriety required their not being separated. I have, consequently, sent the twelve soldiers of this description, taken chiefly at Montileone, Cotrone, and Cosenza, to be exchanged for a like number of Neapolitan subjects, many of whom, in the hands of the enemy, are the very persons who were instrumental in taking these men, and therefore a fair equivalent.

"Under this idea, and to release a proportion at least of the brave officers who served under Colonel Stoduti, Majors Necco, and Guariglia, &c., who contributed their utmost efforts to co-operate with me in disarming the coast, keeping the wild mass, they had to draw their volunteers from, in better order than Major Guattiere, Pane di Grano, or Papa Sodero did, whose names make one sick, I have judged it fair to these sufferers to send equivalents in exchange for them and their families. Some Sicilian officers of the line, who have come over, will by these means be enabled to serve. I do not mean to trouble you with any of these details, having given the necessary orders to Captain Lamb, the agent for prisoners of war at Malta, and confided the execution of the service to Lieutenant Despurrin, of the Madras, who I have directed to pass

by Messina, and wait your pleasure there as to the time of his departure, and in execution of any further commands you may have. He will inform you what room he has for the reception of any person of the above description you may wish to send, and he will deliver any letter or message you may wish to have conveyed to Cæsar Berthier, the minister of war at Naples, towards putting the exchange of prisoners and the release of persons, who should not be detained, on a decent liberal footing. His correspondence with me early in the year promised reciprocity, in this respect, for any act of humanity on our parts, and I have no reason to doubt his intentions therein, as he has released all the English that fell into the enemy's hands. I make a matter of conscience of doing all in my power to procure the liberation of those who have fought bravely under my orders, or who have been victims to their zeal and attachment to the cause of their legitimate sovereign ; and, therefore, as my last act in winding up my public duties on this station, I have made this arrangement, and solicit your sanction thereto, and furtherance thereof in its progress. The Marquis Circello informs me that there are some French prisoners in the Castle of St. Elmo, at Palermo. These are the same who were taken by Stoduti's and Guariglia's corps, before the latter surrendered : it appears but fair that they should be exchanged, the one for the other. There are also three French officers, one a very gentlemanlike man, an engineer, taken at one of the sorties at Gaeta. The Marquis Circello repeats the desire of the court to have this officer (Captain Nempte) exchanged for Colonel Roth, of the king's guards, already come

over, but not at liberty to serve—of course, a make-weight must be added, to form an equivalent. I have taken some steps about this by the marquis's desire, as the King of the Sicilies cannot treat direct with the usurped government residing in his capital on *terra firma*. It is not completed, and I earnestly recommend the subject to your favourable co-operation, in any intercourse you may choose to have with the French. It being an object to withdraw as many French prisoners as possible from Malta, I have embarked two hundred in the Pompée, to be conveyed to England: they are no small burthen and nuisance in a small ship, which can scarcely stow her complement of men, but it is an object to remove them from hence.

"I condole with you most feelingly on the melancholy accounts from Egypt. Policy must pave the way, where numbers are too few to surmount the obstacles which the extreme bravery of the officers and men induces them to make light of. I have already dispatched the Glatton with provisions and recruits. The Endymion is appointed, and Captain Capel has his orders to convey what you mean to send from Messina; and I trust they will have a short passage at this time of the year, when the easterly winds cease to prevail. I have made arrangements in the lazaretto here for the immediate landing, and reception in an hospital, of the wounded and sick, which may be expected from Egypt subject to quarantine. All here are anxiously at work, to secure the rapid progress of every measure which can tend to the relief of those in the exposed situation of a distant insulated post, and the comfort of those who may return from thence in need of assistance.

"I must now take leave of you, with every good wish for your prosperity and success, and subscribe myself, with much esteem and sincere regard,

"Sir, yours, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following memorial, relating exclusively to the foregoing service, is on that account here introduced, though it bears a subsequent date of some years, and will be further noticed at the time when it will be taken into consideration by the government:—

"Paris, February 20, 1817.

"The Memorial of Vice-Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight Commander of the Bath, humbly and confidently sheweth,

"That Lord Nelson gave to memorialist a plan of operations which he detailed as arising from his local experience in the former war. His lordship at the same time informed memorialist, that the same experience in a similar service, which had been ruinous to his private fortune, had induced him to suggest the necessity of the flag-officer employed being afforded the pecuniary means of carrying it on, and bearing the expense he would be unavoidably exposed to during its continuance; and on this condition, not only implied, but distinctly and voluntarily expressed by Lord Nelson, memorialist accepted the offer of hoisting his flag and proceeding on this particular service.

"1. The selection of memorialist being communicated

by Mr. Pitt to the Admiralty, and approved, he was ordered to hoist his flag in the Pompée, as soon as she was reported ready for service, and he was ordered to proceed to the Mediterranean; but no allusion could be made, in his correspondence with the Admiralty board, to the secret service proposed, or to the distinct promise of pecuniary means being afforded of executing the same, all instructions thereon having been verbal and confidential between Lord Nelson, Mr. Pitt, and memorialist; the engagements entered into with the Austrian and Neapolitan governments not being as yet a subject for official correspondence with a public board.

"2. The lamented death of Lord Nelson in the interval made no change in memorialist's destination, and the loss of the battle of Austerlitz, balanced by the victory of Trafalgar, having increased the urgency of Great Britain doing her promised part in the contest, now that the war was become entirely continental, memorialist was not only ordered to proceed and put himself under the orders of Lord Collingwood, who had succeeded to the duties of Lord Nelson, but his immediate departure was urged particularly by the Admiralty.

"3. Memorialist, in a final conference with Mr. Pitt, at Marlborough, (where he met him for the purpose, as that lamented minister was on his way to town from Bath,) found the original disposition with respect to Italy so far from being changed by the immediate and apprehended effect of the loss of the battle of Austerlitz, that it was considered doubly urgent to proceed according to the original plan, as the only mode of

preventing more fatal consequences, Italy now becoming necessarily the theatre of the enemy's operations, and the capture of Naples and Sicily his immediate objects.

"4. The former of these events had already taken place, and the information of it had just reached Lord Collingwood, when memorialist joined his lordship off Cadiz; and the latter was so seriously apprehended, that the commander-in-chief did not detain him many hours, but ordered and urged his proceeding to the station in contemplation with the utmost dispatch, directing him first to proceed to Palermo, there to combine operations with the forces of his Sicilian majesty, *and to do the utmost, by every means in his power, to defend the dominions of that allied sovereign.*

"5. Memorialist arrived at Palermo in the beginning of April, 1806, and found the dismay and abject want of confidence in any means that could be employed for that purpose to be such as to make it impossible to restore energy to the councils of Sicily. It was therefore necessary to shew the government and people that the spirits of Mr. Pitt and Lord Nelson were still alive, by so much as their instructions were known to and binding on the person destined to execute them, and that he dared to undertake the task, hopeless as it appeared.

"6. The change of ministry in England subsequent to Mr. Pitt's death did not appear to have produced any change in the measures to be pursued for arresting the progress and gigantic strides of Buonaparte towards universal dominion. Lord Howick, who was become first lord of the Admiralty, was pleased to manifest his

confidence in the zeal and experience of memorialist as applied to the service expected to be performed on the station filled by Lord Nelson in the former war, and memorialist felt it a conscientious duty to execute the ideas of his predecessor, in the adoption of which his own conviction and his own principles operated as strong incitements to energetic action.

"7. A letter was just arrived at Palermo from the Prince of Hesse-Philipsthal, governor of *Gaeta*, saying, that, without immediate succour and supplies of certain articles named therein, he could not defend that important place beyond *four days*. The king was absent on a tour round the island; Mr. Elliott, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary, was with the king, as were the members of his majesty's council. The queen and prince-royal entreated memorialist to succour the Prince of Hesse, but no *authority* existed to direct the issue of the stores; no time was, however, to be lost, and he took on himself to require and convey the stores and reinforcements demanded for Gaeta, where a vigorous sortie, recommended by memorialist, under the cover of a flanking fire from a float, effectually checked the too near approaches of the besieging French army; and this mode of repulsion pursued from time to time, prolonged the defence of the place for *four months*, until treachery and cowardice occasioned its surrender, after the disablement of the Prince of Hesse by a wound in the head.

"8. Major-General Sir John Stuart having distinctly stated to memorialist that the army under his command was inadequate to the defence of Sicily, should the enemy effect a landing, and that he could not

reckon on any effectual co-operation from the natives, and memorialist not having had time as yet to equip the flotilla that was afterwards of so much use, and being convinced that he could not, with the large ships under his command, be certain during the summer season of meeting and opposing the passage across the narrow Straits of Messina of the enemy's numerous small rowing vessels then collecting to convey the troops destined for the invasion of the island under the command of General Regnier, memorialist felt himself called upon to communicate this conviction to the major-general, and to propose to him the original plan laid down in the instructions of Lord Nelson and Mr. Pitt, as the only means practicable and effectual of defending Sicily.

"9. This met the approbation of Sir John Stuart's active and energetic mind so entirely, that he adopted the suggestion, and the proposal of memorialist to convey his army across the strait to Calabria, where memorialist had established a correspondence with the chiefs of the Calabrise armed peasantry, who produced certificates of capacity and good conduct in the former war from Sir Thomas Troubridge, Sir Samuel Hood, and Admiral Hallowell.

"10. The capture, by the naval force under the orders and immediate direction of memorialist, of the island of Capri, (a military post that may be compared for strength of ground and superior position to a second Gibraltar of greater magnitude,) overlooking Naples Mole, made it necessary for Joseph Buonaparte, at that time in the capital, to adopt measures for his own defence therein, and to concentrate his forces in that

part of Italy, instead of sending them to follow up the plan of invading Sicily. General Regnier's army was thus, for the moment, weakened by detachments recalled for the siege of Gaeta, and to defend Naples itself.

"11. Sir John Stuart was clearly of opinion with memorialist, that it was necessary to keep up and profit by the alarm thus created; the general, however, made it a point *sine quâ non* of his so acting in consequence of this arrangement, that the plan and intention should not be communicated to the councils of Palermo. It never could occur to memorialist that the queen and prince-royal's sanction of the measure of conveying the ordnance stores from Palermo for the defence of Gaeta, which her majesty had much at heart, could operate as a reason for its being disapproved by Mr. Elliott, without further weighing its merits and utility: it could not occur to memorialist that the adoption by him of the plan pursued with success by the above-mentioned naval officers, under the able direction of Lord Nelson, and suggested by his lordship to be again pursued under similar circumstances, with greater development under the approbation of his majesty's government, could be criticised or counteracted by Sir William Hamilton's successor: Mr. Elliott did not, at the beginning of the campaign, express any disapprobation of the proposed measures, nor did he appear to differ in opinion with memorialist on their necessity and utility towards the safety of Sicily; and it is indeed now for the first time he learns, that the employing the masses of Calabrise *against* Regnier, which were the day before *under his authority*, was disapproved of, and

called arming the Calabrise peasantry, although they had, as they always have, their own arms in their possession, and Sir John Stuart peremptorily ordered them to take them up on pain of the utmost severity on his part, (see his proclamation on landing;) neither could it occur to memorialist, that reducing a lawless banditti to order and obedience, under the authority of their legitimate sovereign, by embodying and maintaining them, could have given offence, still less could he suppose that the official authority, given to memorialist by the king for that purpose, should have occasioned jealousy in any quarter.

"15. It was done by the king alone, as his majesty himself said to memorialist, to prevent the sort of *interregnum* which had happened in 1800, and in which much ruinous and horrible disorder had been experienced, till the re-establishment of his authority by his own presence; and certainly the circular and general order, which issued under the royal sign-manual, addressed to all his majesty's subjects, 'military, political, and ecclesiastical,' to obey the Protestant British admiral on the station, however it might surprise by its novelty, did not appear to be a measure calculated to be a ground of disapprobation and censure of the naval officer who had so conducted himself as to acquire the unbounded confidence of an allied sovereign.

"16. The order was addressed to the subjects, not to the admiral; it was acted upon with effect and utility, under the conviction that memorialist could not but entertain that it was his duty to obey the instructions of his commander-in-chief, to defend the dominions of an allied sovereign by every means in his power, and

that the augmentation of those means and that power could not but be considered as conducive to the desired end.

" 17. The direct communication between Naples and Calabria was cut off by means of British artillery, landed from the Gulf of Policastro, and by the co-operation of the native armed peasantry, who had confidence in and were obedient to memorialist as long as he maintained and paid them.

" 18. Sicily was thoroughly secured by the disarmament of all the batteries on the coast of Italy, under which an invading flotilla could be equipped, or take shelter, in its passage along shore, and by the capture and occupation of Amantea and Tropen, the two keys of the Gulf of St. Euphemia, which memorialist felt it his duty to summon and seize upon by means of the armed peasantry, the moment Regnier weakened their garrisons to strengthen his army, drawn up in the plain to oppose the British under the command of Sir John Stuart.

" 19. Memorialist, who had shifted his flag to the Apollo to enable him to go nearer the beach than the Pompée could, co-operated so effectually with the army, by manifesting the means of covering a possible retreat, and by throwing in the 20th regiment on the left, *en potence*, from a float, at a critical moment *during the battle*, that the commander-in-chief publicly expressed his thanks to memorialist as well as to Colonel Ross.

" 20. If these circumstances are not recorded at the admiralty, it is because memorialist felt a delicacy at taking any share of the glory of the day in an action

wherein he could not be personally present though within two gun-shots of the spot, and actively employed covering the flanks and the rear of the British army by the means which were applicable and at his disposal, nor would it now be mentioned, but that he learns a censure of him is recorded in the Foreign Office for the very thing for which Major-General Sir John Stuart was praised and rewarded; for, if the employment of the armed peasantry was criticised, it should be remembered, as has been said, that Sir John Stuart's proclamation on his landing required them to take up arms on pain of *severe punishment*, and if, being so armed, they looked to the authority representing that of the sovereign for an impulse before they would act, and that therefore memorialist gave them the one order which became him under the then circumstances, which was, that they should obey Major-General Sir John Stuart, and all in authority under him, blame cannot be attached to memorialist for that, although the *omission might* have been censurable; and however Sir John Stuart might have felt pique and dissatisfaction that the king's authority had not been delegated to *him*, he, in justice, ceased to express it when his positive injunction to keep his intention of going across the Strait for the single purpose of beating General Regnier's army, 'a secret at Palermo,' was brought to his recollection, and when the utility of such authority in the hands of the admiral, moving and acting higher up on the coast than he could venture to go to prevent disorder, became manifest.

" 21. It could not occur to those who are in daily conflicts with a beaten and a shy French army, which

found it difficult to hold the *one* Sicily on *terra firma*, that their successes were becoming useless, and their measures would be blamed by those at a distance, who had already lost the hope of defending the *island*, so as to make a sacrifice of it at Paris, in exchange for the Balearic islands.

" 22. A sense of duty under ignorance, and the impossibility of supposing such a state of things behind, at a time when attention was wholly engrossed in front, must plead the excuse; while at the same time *obedience to positive instructions and the success of the measures adopted*, (the immediate economical result of which was the discharge of the transports kept at a great expense, at Messina, to ensure the safe retreat of the army,) gives the naval officer who disbursed from his own private fortune the means of keeping the insurgent masses under control, and on the right side of the question instead of against their sovereign, a right to expect and require that he shall not be left *any longer* out of pocket by the sacrifice he made on the occasion, a sacrifice which was admitted by Mr. Perceval to be too much for the individual to bear; but which would never have been claimed from government, if the service itself had at that or any subsequent time by any contingent advantage placed the memorialist in a situation to pay the debts contracted in the carrying it on, and in the various expensive situations to which his zeal and the flattering confidence of successive governments have exposed him.

" 23. The reverse being the case; Mr. Perceval not living to execute his professed good intentions towards him, and his nominal income being absorbed to pay

accumulated interest, *justice to others as well as to himself* obliges him now to urge his claims, and to express his fixed determination never to cease to urge them in every possible shape, as founded on strict justice, and their payment by government, *however late*, being required by sound policy; since it must paralyze the exertions of officers on all future occasions, if memorialist remains any longer as an example, warning British admirals *never to go out of the beaten track to find an enemy who is not to be found or met with in it, and who dares not come afloat to meet a British naval force*, warning them also of the danger of acting on *secret verbal instructions from persons of the highest authority*, lest their sudden death should leave the officer subject to a disavowal, and consequently to contend with a load of debt in a forced exile from his country, which he has defended at the risk of life, and with the loss of health and fortune.

"24. It surely cannot be considered as tenable ground for a rejection of such a claim as the one above specified, that a co-operating public servant in another department was not apprised of a plan of operations, for the execution of which a naval officer was selected and made responsible as being to emanate from the *moveable* and *applicable* force under his command, and subject to his immediate direction, or that the latter should suffer because the former public servant should suddenly *alter his mind*, and despond more than the naval officer, who had seen facilities on the spot, no longer in the contemplation or hopes of more distant observers, and records his ill-founded despair; or that, his opinion differing from that of the original planners

of an operation, though persons high in authority, and competent to decide and give orders, is to be set up, *after their deaths*, in opposition to that of the latter, so as to bar the payment of the expense of the measure which originated with them, and was actually carried into effect with a successful result, beyond the hopes of any one but the enterprising actor therein, before a counter order from a succeeding competent authority was in contemplation, or could reach the scene of action; and however the success of the measure may increase the disappointment of a silent doubter, his secret criticism in another quarter cannot in justice be allowed to influence a subsequent and unprejudiced decision.

"25. In order, therefore, that memorialist may not be in a worse situation, after having well performed his duty, than he should have been if he had not undertaken this service under the specific promise that he should be borne harmless—a promise voluntarily made to him, and under which he accepted the offer of service and acted, he claims to be re-imbursed the sum of 4,700*l.* expended by him in the furtherance of measures adopted under the above specified promise, and also under distinct and secret instructions to form a strong diversion in favour of Austria, according to treaty, and to defend and preserve the dominions of his majesty's ally, Ferdinand IV., king of the two Sicilies, who was graciously pleased, on memorialist's taking leave, to give him the most public and solemn testimony of his having effectually so done.

"26. Memorialist, therefore, respectfully appeals to the liberality of his own government, and can never

cease to claim from the equity and honour of his country, not only the re-imbursement of the sum of 4,700*l.* so advanced and expended by him, but the interest accruing on the same from the 4th day of July, 1806, to the date of payment, he having paid the same out of his private fortune, and justice requiring that he should not be a loser by having been employed on a critical, hazardous, and successful service, from the result of which great advantage arose to the cause of Europe at the time, and subsequently up to the final restoration of the King of Naples to his continental dominions. To this result his faithful subjects were constantly taught by memorialist to look with hope and confidence."

CHAPTER VI.

THE DARDANELLES.

1806—1807.

SIR S. SMITH ORDERED BY LORD COLLINGWOOD TO JOIN THE SQUADRON UNDER SIR J. T. DUCKWORTH.—ENTERS THE DARDANELLES.—SIR SIDNEY ATTACKS A DIVISION OF THE TURKISH FLEET, AND DEMOLISHES IT.—PREPARATIONS OF TURKS FOR DEFENCE, UNDER THE SUPERINTENDENCE OF GENERAL SEBASTIANI.—SIR J. DUCKWORTH WITH DIFFICULTY REPASSES THE DARDANELLES.

While Sir Sidney Smith was busily employed in the preservation of the Neapolitan territories for their legitimate sovereign, he received an order from Lord Collingwood, by direction of the Board of Admiralty, to make ready the Pompée with all dispatch, and proceed in her to Plymouth Sound, their lordships having signified their intention of employing the admiral on the coast of the United Kingdom. He accordingly took leave, as we have seen, of the King and Queen of Sicily and Naples at Palermo. This order, however, was superseded by another from Lord Collingwood, directing Sir John Duckworth to take the Pompée, with some other ships of the line, under his orders, and proceed with them to the mouth of the Dardanelles, and to carry into execution the orders which his lordship had received from the government.

It appears that the resignation (more probably the deposition) of the Sultan Selim, to enable his nephew Mustapha to mount the vacant throne of the Sublime Porte, had created a struggle between the Russian and the French governments, as to which of them should become the favourite nation; and the latter, ever watchful to seize on any advantage that might offer, had despatched General Sebastiani as envoy or ambassador to Constantinople. England could not consent to remain an inactive spectator of what might be the result of the two powers contending for preponderance at Constantinople; and she decided on supporting the cause of Russia:—the cabinet, indeed, had no other line to take, for her ambassador, Charles Arbuthnot, Esq., had already announced the alienation of the Sublime Porte from England, by the machinations, it was supposed, of Sebastiani; but our adherence to Russia was quite sufficient to produce that effect.

Sir Sidney Smith had an early intimation from Mr. Arbuthnot of what was going on, by a private letter, of which the following is a copy:—

MR. ARBUTHNOT TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Buyukderé, September 27, 1806.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"Although I mention at the beginning of my public letter that I wrote to you on the third of this month, I now recollect that I only begged Sir A. Ball to communicate to you what I then addressed to him. The mistake, however, is of no importance.

"I don't know whether you will be able to send any ships up, but I am certain that their presence is become

very necessary. France has produced such a panic, that the Porte is wholly alienated from us; and the most vigorous measures alone can now preserve our interests in this part of the world.

"Under the supposition that you may send some ships to cruize as far as the Dardanelles, I shall take care to send a letter to our consul at that place, directed to the commanding naval officer who may happen to ask for it; and that letter shall contain all the information that I may have it in my power to communicate.

"As it does not seem possible that I should have to remain here, I shall naturally be very anxious to have a frigate to convey myself and family away. I could not, of course, go till I receive orders from home, but the despatches I now write will, I have no doubt, produce those orders. You will, therefore, I am sure, bear this in mind, and provide for me eventually the means of departing.

"Believe me ever, my dear Sir Sidney,

"Yours most truly and faithfully,

"CHARLES ARBUTHNOT."

This letter was accompanied by the copy of a public letter from Charles Arbuthnot, Esq., ambassador from the King of England to the Sublime Porte at Constantinople, to Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, then in command of a detached squadron on the coasts of Sicily and Calabria.

MR. ARBUTHNOT TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Buyukderé on the Bosphorus,
September 27, 1806.

"SIR,

"On the 3rd of this month I wrote to you, by the way of Corfu, to inform you that the conduct of the Porte towards England and Russia was become very suspicious, and that I thought the presence of a couple of line-of-battle ships at the Dardanelles would be extremely desirable.

"Since the departure of that letter, we have had still more reason to be dissatisfied with the Porte; for, although the professions of friendship still continue, we know from undoubted authority that France has made proposals of an alliance with this government, which, though not perhaps yet agreed to, have most certainly not been rejected.

"In making privately these proposals to the Porte, France accompanied them with a public notification (a copy of which is in my possession) that the continuation of the alliance with England and Russia, and the passage of Russian ships of war, or even of Russian transports, through the Bosphorus, would be considered as an act of hostility against herself, and that the French troops now collected in Dalmatia would immediately be ordered to cross the Ottoman Empire in their way to the Dniester, where the Russian army is assembled.

"Instead of declaring to General Sebastiani that the treaties with England and Russia could not be violated, the Porte has delivered a note in answer to his, in

which it is acknowledged that the passage of Russian ships by the Bosphorus (which, it must be observed, is a right ceded to Russia by the treaty renewed some months since,) occasions great inconvenience to this government, and that the court of Petersburg has been and will again be desired to discontinue that practice.

"A note has accordingly been presented this day to the Russian minister, in which the above demand is made. It was delivered just at the moment when that minister received orders from Petersburg, to declare, that, unless the deposed hospodars were reinstated (the details respecting which I communicated to you in my former letter), and unless the passage through the Bosphorus was consented to and confirmed, he was to quit this residence with the whole of his mission, and merely to leave one of his dragomans to act for the moment as *chargé des affaires.* On his departure he was also ordered to write to the general commanding on the frontier, and to the admiral in the Black Sea, to whom eventual orders would be given from Petersburg.

"As the whole extent of this state of things could not have been exactly foreseen by his majesty's ministers, I am naturally without instructions how to act, and am consequently in no small degree embarrassed.

"As however the union between the two courts of London and Petersburg is, if possible, more intimate than ever; as the refusal to renew the treaty with England is alleged in the dispatches from Petersburg as one of the emperor's motives for recalling his mission; as that refusal has been occasioned by the ascendency of French influence; and as nothing but the

strict alliance which had existed between Great Britain and the Porte could have induced his majesty to send an ambassador to this country; I have, in consideration of all these circumstances, determined to take the responsibility upon myself of supporting the representations which are now to be made by the Russian minister. It is my intention, therefore, to inform the Porte, that, unless the just demands of Russia are complied with, I shall take it as a proof that the sultan has abandoned his ancient system; and not conceiving it as consistent with the dignity of his majesty that his representative should witness all the marks of condescension for his enemies—incompatible as they are with the treaty still existing between this country and England, I should, in that case, follow the example of my Russian colleague, and appoint a *chargé des affaires* for the transaction of the current business.

"These declarations to the Porte we intend making immediately. It would have been very satisfactory for me if I could have informed you of the effect produced by them. But as the Porte is at all times slow and dilatory; as I think that this government has entered too far into connexions with France to be either willing, or perhaps indeed able now to retract; and as whatever may be the result of the measures we are taking, a British naval force, either to awe or to defend, seems now to be indispensable; I have, therefore, on these accounts, thought it of extreme importance that not a moment should be lost in apprising you of the situation of affairs, and I have consequently determined to send off his majesty's sloop, the Rose, that you may have the means of acting according to your judgment, or accord-

ing to the instructions which you may previously have received from Lord Collingwood.

"You are so well acquainted with the nature of this government that I need not endeavour to impress you with the advantages to be derived from the appearance of a British force in the Archipelago. You see that our sole and most faithful ally will in all probability be very shortly engaged in hostilities with the Porte; and from what I have written to you, you will learn that the offence committed against us (for I ought to inform you that at one time the Porte had most earnestly besought his majesty to renew the treaty) has been one of the causes which has induced the emperor to withdraw his mission. It will therefore, I think, be as evident to you as it is to me, that in some way or other our government cannot well avoid to resent the conduct of the Porte; and should this notion be well founded, we should derive incalculable benefit from the presence of a small squadron, which would be in readiness to execute any orders which might afterwards arrive from England. But the determination on this subject must remain with you. I have given you a full insight into the state of our affairs, and, as far as my opinion can have weight, I declare freely that, should it be left to your discretion, you will render a most essential service in proving to the Porte that we are prepared and determined to resent any injury which the counsels of France may cause to be committed against us.

"It is also necessary for me to let you know that although, in the event of a non-compliance with the demand of Russia, it would be my determination not

to continue the exercise of my functions as ambassador, I should still, however, think it prudent not to quit the country until an answer to the dispatches I shall now write has been received from England. I should appoint a *chargé des affaires* to be the ostensible transactor of business; but under the plea (and indeed the real one) of not having the means at present of removing my family, I should remain here to observe what was going on. By this I should enable his majesty's government, in case my conduct were disapproved, to send out another ambassador to replace me; and, at any rate, whether my conduct be approved or otherwise, I shall, by continuing on the spot, be able to direct the person whom I shall appoint to do the business.

"You will, therefore, have the goodness to direct your answer to me, and I need scarcely say that I shall look for it with much impatience.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"CHARLES ARBUTHNOT.

"*P.S.*—Upon further consideration I have determined not to appoint a *chargé des affaires*, but to content myself with declaring to the Porte, that I do not conceive it possible for his majesty to allow his ambassador to remain here. The Russian minister is naturally very anxious that I should go to the same lengths as he does; and if I were fully authorized to take that step, our chance of success would certainly be far greater.

"The Turks fear nothing but our fleets, but they will not believe us to be in earnest. On this account,

and I really think that on this account alone, they have ventured to insult Russia. If you can possibly send some ships to the Dardanelles you will undeceive them. We owe it to Russia.

"C. A."

This public letter of the ambassador could scarcely have been received, before Sir Sidney had been directed by Lord Collingwood to place himself under the orders of Admiral Sir John Duckworth, who, at the same time, had received his orders from his lordship to proceed, as speedily as possible, to collect the ships named for his squadron; and, taking the same under his command, to proceed as expeditiously as possible to the Strait of Constantinople, and there take such a position as would enable him to carry into effect the instructions which his lordship sends to him therewith.

The Pompée was one of the ships destined for this service, and was at Palermo when Sir John Duckworth called at that port in the Royal George, and there took the rear-admiral under his orders. When it is considered that Sir John had to collect a squadron of four or five ships of the line, and to call for the fleet then under Rear-admiral Sir Thomas Louis, in the Archipelago; that the date of the admiral's instructions is 13th January, 1807, the fact of a battle being fought within the Dardanelles, and reported on the 20th of the following month, is really astonishing; yet Sir Sidney Smith, with the rear division took or destroyed the Turkish squadron protected by a redoubt, which he also took, at the date above-mentioned; an example of promptitude and activity almost without a pa-

rallel, and which reflects the highest credit on the energy and exertion of the commander-in-chief and the several officers of the fleet, who were all assembled.

The annexed is a copy of Lord Collingwood's instructions to Sir John Duckworth; followed by Sir Sidney Smith's account of the battle fought with the Turkish squadron within the Dardanelles.

Copy of the Orders to Sir John Duckworth, to proceed to the Dardanelles, dated 13th January, 1807.

"Some late proceedings on the part of the Turkish government, indicating the increasing influence of the French in their councils, and a disposition in the Porte to abandon the alliance which has happily subsisted between that government and his majesty, inducing a conduct on their part which it would be inconsistent with the dignity of his majesty's crown to submit to, have determined the king to adopt such prompt and decisive measures as are suitable to the occasion.

"On the other hand, the last accounts, of date the 13th October last, from his majesty's ambassador at Constantinople, stated the matters of difference to have been amicably adjusted; yet, as recent events may have an effect unfavourable to his majesty's interests, it is necessary that a squadron, under the command of a judicious and skilful officer, should proceed to Constantinople, to be ready to act with vigour and promptitude, as circumstances and the state of affairs on his arrival may make necessary.

"You are hereby required and directed to take under your orders the ships named in the margin,* which you are to collect as you arrive at the stations and ports where they are; and, having completed the provisions and water to four months at Gibraltar, proceed as expeditiously as possible to the Straits of Constantinople, and there take such a position as will enable you to execute the following instructions:—

"On your arrival at Constantinople, you are to communicate with his majesty's ambassador as soon as possible, sending him the accompanying despatches, and consulting with him on the measures necessary to be taken.

"Should the subject of difference have been amicably settled between the Turkish court and the British ambassador, as was stated in the last accounts from him, the relations of amity are to be maintained; should, however, the reverse be the case, or should the representations which Mr. Arbuthnot is instructed to make to the Turkish government fail of their effect, you are to act offensively against Constantinople. But as, from a barbarous practice of the Turkish government, it may happen that the ambassador and the persons of his suite are forcibly detained, in such case, before you proceed to any actual hostility, you are to demand and insist on the release of that minister and suite, together with all those who belong to and compose part of the British factory; and in the event of the demand not being complied with, you are to pro-

* At Palermo, the Pompée, Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, and in the Archipelago, under the orders of Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, Canopus, Thunderer, Standard, Endymion, Active, Nautilus, Delight, Royal George, Windsor Castle, Repulse, Ajax.

ceed to measures of hostility against the town. If Mr. Arbuthnot shall not have been forcibly detained, or, having been detained, should be released in consequence of your requisition, you are then to communicate and consult with that minister on the measures proper to be pursued, and govern yourself in your further proceedings by such communications.

"Should the result of your communications with Mr. Arbuthnot determine, and he inform you that it is his opinion that hostilities should commence, having previously taken all possible precautions for the safety of that minister and the persons attached to his mission, and having disposed the squadron under your orders in such stations as may compel compliance, you are to demand the surrender of the Turkish fleet, together with a supply of naval stores from the arsenal, sufficient for its complete equipment, which demand you are to accompany with a menace of immediate destruction of the town.

"At this crisis, should any negotiation on the subject be proposed by the Turkish government, as such proposition will probably be to gain time for preparing for their resistance, or securing their ships, I would recommend that no negotiation should be continued more than half an hour; and, in the event of an absolute refusal, you are either to cannonade the town, or attack the fleet, wherever it may be, holding it in mind that the getting the possession, and, next to that, the destruction of the Turkish fleet, is the object of the first consideration. On the adoption of hostilities, the communication of that decision to the commander-in-chief of the British army in Sicily, and the

officers commanding the squadron on the coast of that island, must be as prompt and immediate as possible, sent by a fast-sailing vessel; and, the more to insure this important communication, a duplicate should follow in a very few days, orders having been sent to General Fox to detach five thousand men for the purpose of taking possession of Alexandria, as soon as he is informed that hostilities have commenced; which armament you must regard as acting within the sphere of your co-operation, and be prepared to give all the assistance to it that is in your power.

"When hostilities have been entered upon in that quarter, it will be of the first importance to possess a naval station in the Archipelago. The island of Milo, from the situation and the excellence of its harbour, presents itself as best calculated for preserving the communication in the Archipelago, and such as will certainly be necessary in the Morea. In proceeding up the Archipelago, pilots are procured at Milo, and when you are there for that purpose it will be a favourable opportunity for you to examine how far the possessing yourself of it is practicable, and what force will be necessary to maintain it, and make such communications to General Fox on this subject, and a request for such troops, as may be wanted to possess it.

"His majesty's ship Glatton is stationed in the Bay of Smyrna for the purpose of receiving on board the persons and property of the factory resident there, whenever circumstances make it necessary for them to embark; and as this will depend upon the operations at Constantinople, you will give Captain Leccombe and the factors timely notice for their security.

"Having thus detailed particularly the situation of affairs at the Porte, and what are the instructions of his majesty in the event of a war with Turkey, yet, in a service of this nature, many circumstances will doubtless occur which cannot be foreseen, and can only be provided for by an intelligent mind upon the spot; in your ability a resource will be found for every contingency; and in your zeal for his majesty's service, a security that, for the full execution of these instructions, whatever is practicable will be done.

"The force which is appointed for this service is greater than the original intention, as it was expected the Russians from Corfu would be ready to co-operate with you; but as its success depends upon the promptness with which it is executed, I have judged it proper (that no delay may arise from their squadron not joining) to increase your force by two ships. I have, however, written to Vice-Admiral Sercovies to request him to detach four ships, with orders to put themselves under your command; and that you may be possessed of all the force that can be applied to the important service under your immediate direction, you are hereby authorised to call from the coast of Sicily whatever can be spared from the perfect security of that island, as well as the despatch vessels at Malta; but as little more naval force is at Sicily than is absolutely necessary for its defence, and the convoy which may be wanted for the troops, a strict regard must be had that that island is not left in a weak state of defence. While employed on this service you must take every opportunity of communicating to me your proceedings in as full detail as possible, transmitting to me by such

opportunities the general return and state of the squadron.

"In the event of your finding a pacific and friendly disposition in the Porte, so that the squadron under your orders is not required in hostile operations there, you are to detach a flag-officer with such number of ships as are not wanted, which detachment being made up to five ships of the line from those at Sicily, you will proceed direct off Toulon, endeavouring to fall in with any squadron of ships the enemy may have put to sea thence. Not finding the enemy at sea, those ships attached to the service of Sicily are to return to their stations, and the flag-officer with the others are to proceed and join me at this rendezvous.

"I enclose for your information copies of the orders delivered to Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, and Captain Leccombe of the Glatton. Given on board the Ocean off Cadiz.

(Signed) "COLLINGWOOD."

REAR-ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO VICE-ADMIRAL SIR JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH.

"His Majesty's ship Pompée, within the Dardanelles.

"SIR,

"In reporting to you the entire completion of the service you were pleased to order should be executed by the rear division under my immediate direction, I need not inform you that the ships were anchored in the thick of the Turkish squadron, and in close action with them, as you must have observed it; but as the intervention of the land after you passed the point

prevented your seeing the subsequent operations, it is my duty to acquaint you therewith.

"The Turks fought desperately, like men determined to defend themselves and their ships as long as they could; but the superiority of our fire, within musket shot, obliged them in half an hour to run on shore on Point Pesquies, or Nagara Burun. As the redoubt on the point continued to fire, also as the ships kept their colours up, and the part of their crews which had deserted them remained armed on the beach, while a considerable body of Asiatic troops, both horse and foot, appeared on the hills, it was necessary to make an arrangement for boarding them, with some precaution; at the same time, that it was of consequence to press them closely before they recovered from the impression and effect of our cannonade. A few shells from the Pompée dispersed the Asiatics, and convinced them that we commanded the ground within our reach, and that they could not protect the green standard they had hoisted, which I caused to be brought off by Lieutenant Oates, of the Pompée's marines, that they might not rally there again.

"The Standard's guns bearing best on the frigates on shore, I sent the Thunderer's boats to that ship, to be employed with her own, under the direction of Captain Harvey, making the signal to him to destroy the enemy's ships in the N.E. The Active's signal having been previously made to follow and destroy a frigate, which had cut her cable to get from under the Thunderer's and Pompée's fire, and ran on shore on the European side in the N.W.; at the same time Lieutenant Beecroft, of the Pompée, was detached to take pos-

session of the line-of-battle ship, on which the Thunderer's and Pompée's guns could still bear, under the protection likewise of the Repulse, which you had considerately sent to my aid; that officer brought me the captain and second captain, the latter of whom was wounded, also the flag of the rear-admiral who had escaped on shore, which I shall have the honour of presenting to you.

"The whole of the Turks were landed, in pursuance of your orders, including the wounded, with due attention to the sufferings of our misguided opponents, as I must call them, for the term *enemy* does not seem applicable, considering their evident good disposition towards us nationally. The ship was then set on fire by the Repulse's and Pompée's boats, and completely destroyed.

"Captain Harvey, in making his report to me of the conduct of the boats' crews under the command of Lieutenants Carter, Waller, and Colby, of his majesty's ship Thunderer, and of the marines employed with them, to board and burn the frigates and corvettes, under the command of Captain Nicolls, speaks in strong terms of the gallantry and ability of them all. The latter, whom I have long known to be an intelligent and enterprising officer, after destroying the frigate bearing the flag of the Captain Pasha, which is preserved to be presented to you, sir, landed; and profiting by the consternation of the Turks from the explosions on all sides of them, the effects of which occasioned no small risk to him, with Lieutenants Fenmore, Boileau, and the whole party, Captain Nicolls entered the redoubt (the Turks retreating as he approached), set fire to the

gabions, and spiked the guns, thirty-one in number, eight of which are brass, carrying immensely large marble balls.

"As, however, the expected explosion of the line-of-battle ship made it impossible for the boats to stay long enough to destroy them effectually with their carriages, or to level the parapets, the wicker of the gabions being too green to burn, I have directed Lieutenants Carroll and Arabin, of his majesty's ship Pompée, and Lieutenant Laurie of the marines, to continue on that service with the Turkish corvette and one gun-boat, which you will observe by the return were not destroyed, and to act under the protection and direction of Captain Mowbray, of his majesty's ship Active, whose name I cannot mention without expressing how highly satisfied I am with the able and gallant manner in which he executed my orders to stick to the frigate, with which he was more particularly engaged, and to destroy her.

"Captain Talbot placed his ship admirably well in support of the Pompée, thereby raking the line-of-battle ship and the frigate we were engaged with, when I made his signal to anchor, as the Pompée had previously done, under the directions I gave for that purpose to Captain Dacres, which were promptly and ably executed; Mr. Ives, the master, applying his local knowledge and experience, as I had a right to expect from his long tried abilities, while Lieutenant Smith made my signals to the squadron in rapid succession and with precision. Captain Harvey merits my entire approbation for placing the Standard in the manner he did, and for completing the destruction of the

others. Much as I must regret the loss of the Ajax, as a most efficient ship in my division, I have felt that loss to be in a great degree balanced by the presence of my gallant friend, Captain Blackwood, and the surviving officers and men, whose zeal, in their voluntary exertions on this occasion, does them the highest credit. In short, all the captains, officers, and men concerned, merit that I should mention them in high terms to you, sir, as their leader, whose example we humbly endeavoured to follow. The signal success that has attended the general exertion under your direction speaks more forcibly than words.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

"A return of Turkish ships and vessels taken and destroyed by a division of ships under the immediate direction of Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, K.S., and orders of Vice-Admiral Sir J. T. Duckworth, K.B., off Point Pesquies, February 19, 1807.

"*Burnt.*—One line-of-battle ship of sixty-four guns, four frigates, three corvettes, one brig, and two gun-boats.

"*Taken possession of.*—One corvette, one gun-boat.

"Comparative List of the number of guns belonging to the Turks at Point Pesquies, within the Dardanelles, and those belonging to the rear division commanded by Sir Sidney Smith :—

SHIPS.	GUNS.	SHIPS.	GUNS.
Standard	64	Redoubt	31
Pompée	80	One ship of	64
Thunderer	74	One frigate	40
Active	38	Two ditto 36 each	72
		One of	32
		One corvette	22
		One ditto	18
		Two of 10 each	20
		One brig of	8
		Two gun-boats one each	2
Total	256	Total	309"

ADMIRAL SIR JOHN T. DUCKWORTH TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.

"Royal George, off Constantinople,
February 21, 1807.

"My Lord,

"I had the honour of transmitting to your lordship, by the late first lieutenant of the Ajax, the various details relating to the transactions of the squadron till the 17th ultimo. Your lordship will from thence have been informed of my resolution of passing the Dardanelles the first fair wind. A fine wind from the southward permitted me to carry it into effect on the morning of the 19th. Information had been given me by his majesty's minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Sir Thomas Louis, that the Turkish squadron, consisting of one sixty-four gun-ship, four frigates, and several corvettes, had been for some time at anchor within the inner castle; and conceiving it possible they might have remained there, I had given orders to Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, to bring up with the Thunderer, Standard, and Active, and destroy them, should our passage be opposed. At a quarter before nine o'clock, the whole of the squadron had passed the outer castles, without having returned a shot to their fire (which occasioned but little injury). This forbearance was produced by the desire of his majesty's minister, expressed to preserve every appearance of amity, that he might negotiate with the strongest proof of the pacific disposition of our sovereign towards the Porte. A second battery opened on the European side,

fired also with as little effect. At half-past nine o'clock the Canopus, which, on account of Sir Thomas Louis's knowledge of the channel, joined to the steady gallantry which I had before experienced, had been appointed to lead, entered the narrow passage of Sestos and Abydos, and sustained a heavy cannonade from both castles, within point blank shot of each. They opened their fire on our ships as they continued to pass in succession, although I was happy in observing that the very spirited return it met with had so considerably diminished its force, that the effect on the sternmost ships could not have been so severe.

"Immediately to the N.E. of the castles, and between them and Point Pesquies, on which a formidable battery had been newly erected, the small squadron, which I have already alluded to, were at anchor. The van division of our squadron gave them their broadsides as they passed, and Sir Sidney Smith, with his division, closed into the midst, and the effect of the fire was such that in half an hour the Turks had all cut their cables to run on shore. The object of the rear-admiral was then to destroy them, which was most rapidly effected; as in less than four hours the whole of them had exploded, except a small corvette and a gun-boat, which it was thought proper to preserve. I enclose to your lordship a statement of their number; and when I add also an account of the loss his majesty's ships have sustained, I cannot help expressing my satisfaction that we have suffered so slightly; as, had any of their stone shot, some of which exceeded 800lb. weight, made such a breach between wind and water, as they have done in our sides, the ships must

have sunk ; or had they struck a lower mast in the centre, it must evidently have been cut in two ; in the rigging, too, no accident occurred that was not perfectly arranged in the course of next day. The sprit-sail yard of the Royal George, the gaff of the Canopus, and the main-top sailyard of the Standard, are the only spars that were injured.

"It is with peculiar pleasure that I embrace the opportunity, which has been at this time afforded, of bearing testimony to the zeal and distinguished ability of Sir Sidney Smith ; the manner in which he executed the service entrusted to him was worthy of the reputation, which he has long since so justly and so generally established. The terms of approbation in which the rear-admiral relates the conduct of Captains Dacres, Talbot, Harvey, and Mowbray, (which, from my being under the necessity of passing the Point Pesquies, before the van could anchor, he had a greater opportunity of observing than I could,) cannot but be highly flattering ; but I was a more immediate witness to the able and officer-like conduct which Captain Mowbray displayed in obedience to my signal, by destroying a frigate with which he had been more particularly engaged, having driven her on shore on the European side, after she had been forced to cut her cables from under the fire of the Pompée and Thunderer. The sixty-four having run on shore on Pesquies Point, I ordered the Repulse to work up and destroy her, which Captain Legge, in conjunction with the boats of the Pompée, executed with great promptitude and judgment. The battery on the point, of more than thirty guns, which had been completely finished, and was in a

position to have annoyed the squadron most severely in passing, was taken possession of by the royal marines and boats' crews of the rear division; the Turks having retired at their approach,—the guns were immediately spiked. This service was performed under the direction of Captain Nicholls, of the Standard's marines, whose spirit and enterprize can never be doubted: but as circumstances rendered it impracticable to effect the entire destruction of the redoubt, orders were given by Sir Sidney Smith to Captain Mowbray, which I fully approved, to remain at anchor near the Pesquies, and to employ Lieutenants Carroll and Arabin of the Pompée, and Lieutenant Laurie of the marines, to complete the demolition of the redoubt and guns, which, when performed, the Active was to continue in the passage of the Dardanelles till further orders. At a quarter past five, P.M. the squadron was enabled to make sail; and on the evening of the next day, the 20th, came to an anchor at ten o'clock, near Prince's Island, about eight miles from Constantinople, when I dispatched Captain Capel, in the Endymion, to anchor near the town, if the wind, which was light, would permit the ship to stem the current, to convey the ambassador's despatches to the Sublime Porte in the morning, by a flag of truce; but he found it impracticable to get within four miles and, consequently, anchored at half-past eleven, P.M.

"I have now the highest satisfaction to add, that the conduct of the officers and ships' companies of the squadron under my command has fully supported the character of the British navy, and is deserving of my warmest eulogium. Having endea-

voured to pay just tribute to those whose duty necessarily called them into this service, I should feel myself very deficient if I omitted to mention, that his majesty's minister, Mr. Arbuthnot, and Lord Burghersh (who had requested to take a cruize with me) were amongst the most animated in the combat. To Captain Blackwood, who, after the unfortunate loss of the Ajax, volunteered to serve in the Royal George, great praise is due for his able assistance in regulating the fire of the middle and lower decks; and when the Royal George anchored, he most readily offered his services to convey a message to the Endymion, of great moment, her pilot having refused to take charge of the ship. From thence he gave his assistance to arrange the landing of the troops from the sixty-four and setting her on fire. Indeed, where active service was to be performed, there was his anxious desire to be placed. His officers, too, requested to serve in the squadron, and their services in passing the Dardanelles met with approbation.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

"J. T. DUCKWORTH."

A List of Turkish ships and vessels taken and destroyed at anchor off Point Pesquies, February 19, 1807, within the forts of the Dardanelles:—

Burnt.—One line-of-battle ship of sixty-four guns, four frigates, three corvettes, one brig, two gun-boats.

Taken possession of.—One corvette, one gun-boat.

Now that Sir John Duckworth has brought himself and his squadron in safety out of the Dardanelles, though not accompanied with much honour and glory, and void of any advantage to officers or men, the

failure cannot fairly be laid to his account, but rather to those who sent him out with so inadequate a force to make head against so formidable an enemy.

In this doubtful state of mind, the commander-in-chief, when at anchor off Constantinople, the 27th of February, proposed the following queries, but whether to the officers generally, or to some one officer or officers in particular, does not appear ; but the answers to them are signed by Sir Sidney Smith. This active officer had, in the first instance, written a strong but very proper letter to the sultan, partly of advice and partly remonstrance, which he sent to the commander-in-chief, to be forwarded through him ; but, on consultation with the ambassador, it was considered best not to send it. Sir Sidney, moreover, offered to proceed to the city, which was deemed too hazardous to attempt. Sir John Duckworth did not, however, decline consulting those from whom he was most likely to obtain sound advice.

The questions he put were as under :—

"Queries by Vice-Admiral Sir John Thos. Duckworth, K.B.

Query 1st.

"On our arrival off Constantinople, would it have promoted his majesty's service to have cannonaded the town ?

2nd.

"As I proposed going with the squadron to attack the arsenal, do you consider that could have been effected with a possibility of bringing off my own squadron ?

"Royal George, at anchor off Constantinople, February 27, 1807.

Answer 1st.

"There being reason to hope that the objects in question might be obtained by negotiation ; whereas immediate hostility would have precluded intercourse and all possibility of amicable discussion and arrangement.

2nd.

"If it had been practicable, it certainly was not advisable, to put the squadron in a situation where fire among the enemy's shipping would infallibly have committed its own existence, considering the circuitous current within the harbour : — where, considering the prevalence of the northerly current of the Bosphorus setting

directly on the Seraglio Point, a disabled ship could not extricate herself: besides, considering the nature of the Turkish mode of warfare, every man being armed with a rifle and skilful in using it, it would have been fighting with them to a disadvantage to place our cannon within musket shot of the lurking places of such a multitude of sharp-shooters.

Query 3rd.

"Negotiation with his majesty's minister Mr. Arbuthnot having failed of success, do you consider the present squadron equal to forcing the Turkish government into terms, or to destroy their navy, and afterwards be in a state to pass through the Dardanelles?

Answer 3rd.

"Being necessarily in a state of hostility, as well from the engagements existing with Russia, as the distinct menaces which have been held out to the Turkish government in case of its not yielding to amicable representation, it seems advisable to try the effect of bombardment, without, in the first instance, committing the line-of-battle ships under the fire of the new batteries which have been raised under the direction of the French engineers. If this should provoke the Turks to risk their navy outside the harbour, we shall therein find our advantage. The effects of such bombardment, at the seat of government, may induce the divan to concede some points as the price of its cessation. It will divide the parties in the town more distinctly, and I think insulate the French, or war party; while the other, to which it may be presumed the sultan is most inclined, will endeavour to re-open intercourse and negotiation with the ambassador, through which means our free communication with our resources, on the other side the Dardanelles, may be conceded to us as the price of the equivalent concession to the capital for a limited time; for it is to be remembered that this immense city is supplied from day to day by water in small boats chiefly from Asia, with all kinds of provisions, corn coming by way of the Dardanelles, consequently the position of the squadron immediately off the town shortens the duration of the time government can possibly hold out.

4th.

"In your opinion, would it be most advisa-

4th.

"Their magazines cannot have anything like four months' provisions, and the authority, which

ble to blockade the Dardanelles, or to remain off Constantinople? With only four months' provisions on leaving Malta, the impossibility of procuring any more ammunition, and considering what was expended in passing the Dardanelles, with no place in this sea for watering, would it be judicious to risk a continuance at the anchorage off Constantinople?

sent this squadron hither, will no doubt take care that supplies are sent up, which can reach us in the same way we reached this spot; and this being a key-post, I think it ought not to be relinquished without an order counter to that by which it was occupied. The Turks, having their attention and resources devoted to the defence of the capital, cannot execute the suggestions which no doubt the French engineers will make to them of increasing their means of a cross fire at the Dardanelles. His majesty's government are in possession of a plan for securing the European side of that entrance, in a manner to oppose the fire of those castles—to the castle on the Asiatic side, by landing a body of troops behind the former in the Gulf of Saros, and having ordered this small squadron thither, must necessarily consider and apply the means of supporting and extricating it. As long as the capital is closely blockaded and menaced by the squadron in its immediate vicinity, its councils are paralyzed, and its authority weakened, with respect to all the distant parts of the empire. His majesty's officers employed elsewhere can act in the name of and for the sultan, by representing him, as he is, a prisoner of the French faction; and it may not be impossible to get him secretly to convey his consent thereto, in order that he may, by our means, preserve the Asiatic and best half of his empire, when he sees the northern portion of it a prey to immediate invasion. To preserve terms with him personally, and prevent a greater degree of distress bearing on the peaceable inhabitants than need be, a warning to his majesty *personally* to quit the Seraglio with his family, and an indication of Galipoli, Lemnos, and Tenedos, as neutral places of refuge, might be sent officially, previous to the bombardment, and publicly circulated in the town, with good effect.

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

Having re-passed the Dardanelles, Sir J. Duckworth writes as under to Lord Collingwood:

SIR J. DUCKWORTH TO LORD COLLINGWOOD.

"Royal George, without the Dardanelles,
March 6, 1807.

"My Lord,

"Together with this letter, I transmit to your lordship two letters of the 21st and 28th ult., the former of which will have informed you of my arrival with the squadron near Constantinople, and the latter, of an unlucky attempt in which the marines and boats' crews of the Canopus, Royal George, Windsor Castle, and Standard had been engaged.

"It is now my duty to acquaint your lordship with the result of the resolutions which, for the reasons I have already detailed, I had adopted, for forcing the passage of the Dardanelles. My letter of the 21st is dated at anchor, eight miles from Constantinople, the wind not admitting of a nearer approach; but the Endymion, which had been sent a-head with a flag of truce, at the request of the ambassador, was enabled to anchor within four miles. Had it been then in our power, we should have taken our station off the town immediately; but as that could not be done, from the rapidity of the current, I was rather pleased than otherwise with the position we had been forced to take, for, in the conferences between Mr. Arbuthnot and the Captain Pasha, of the particulars of which your lordship is in possession, it was promised by Mr. Arbuthnot, that even when the squadron had arrived before Constantinople, the door to pacification should

remain open, and that he would be willing to negotiate on terms of equality and justice. In consideration of this promise, and as it would convince the Porte of his majesty's earnest desire to preserve peace, as well as possess her ministers with a confidence in the sincerity of our professions, it was the opinion of Mr. Arbuthnot, in which I concurred, that it was fortunate we had anchored at a little distance from the capital, as a nearer approach might have given cause of suspicion and alarm, and have cut off the prospect of an amicable adjustment of the differences which had arisen.

"At noon of the 21st, Isaac Bey, a minister of the Porte, came off, from whose expressions Mr. Arbuthnot thought it impossible not to believe, that in the head of the government, (for in the present instance, every circumstance proved that between him and the armed populace a great distinction is to be made) there really existed a sincere desire for peace; and the negotiation was carried on, as will appear by the documents transmitted to your lordship, till the 27th; but, from the moment of our anchorage till we weighed on the morning of the 1st of March, such was the unfortunate state of the weather, that it was not at any time in our power to have occupied a situation which would have enabled the squadron to commence offensive operations against Constantinople. On Sunday the 22nd alone, for a few hours, the breeze was sufficient to have stemmed the current where we were placed; but such was the rapidity in-shore, where the Endymion was at anchor, that Captain Capel thought it very doubtful whether the squadron could have

obtained an anchorage, though it had been in preparative readiness, by signal, from day-break: but the peculiarly unsettled state of the weather, and the minister's desire that I should give a few hours for an answer to his letter, through Isaac Bey, prevented me from trying. Before five o'clock, P.M. it was nearly calm; and in the evening the wind was entirely from the eastward, and continued light airs, or calm, till the evening of the 28th, when it blew fresh from the N.E. and rendered it impossible to change our position.

"Two days after our arrival at Constantinople, the ambassador found himself indisposed, and has been ever since confined with a fit of illness, so severe as to prevent him from attending to business. Under these circumstances he had delivered in, on the 22nd, to the Turkish ministers, a project as the basis on which peace might be preserved; and at his desire, the subsequent part of the negotiation was carried on in my name, with his advice and assistance; and while I lament most deeply, that it has not ended in the re-establishment of peace, I derive consolation from the reflection that no effort has been wanting, on the part of Mr. Arbuthnot and myself, to obtain such a result; which as was soon seen, from the state of the preparations at Constantinople, could be effected by negotiation only, as the strength of the current from the Bosphorus, with the circuitous eddies of the port, rendered it impracticable to place ships for an attack without a commanding breeze; which during the ten days I was off the town, it was not my good fortune to meet with.

"I now come to the point of explaining to your lordship the motives which fixed me to decide on re-

passing the Dardanelles, and relinquishing every idea of attacking the capital; and I feel confident it will require no argument to convince your lordship of the utter impracticability of our force having made any impression, as at this time the whole line of the coast presented a chain of batteries; that twelve Turkish line-of-battle ships, two of them three deckers, with nine frigates, were with their sails bent, and apparently in readiness, filled with troops; add to this, near two hundred thousand men were said to be in Constantinople, to march against the Russians: besides, there were an innumerable quantity of small craft, with boats; and fire vessels had been prepared to act against us. With the batteries alone we might have coped, or with the ships, could we have got them out of their strong-hold; but your lordship will be aware, that after combating the opposition which the resources of an empire had been employed many weeks in preparing, we should have been in no state to have defended ourselves against them, as described, and then repass the Dardanelles.

"I know it was my duty, in obedience to your lordship's orders, to attempt everything (governed by the opinion of the ambassador) that appeared within the compass of possibility; but when the unavoidable sacrifice of the squadron committed to my charge (which must have arisen, had I waited for a wind to have enabled me to cannonade the town, unattended by the remotest chance of obtaining any advantage for his majesty's service,) must have been the consequence of pursuing that object, it at once became my positive duty, however wounded in pride and ambition, to re-

linquish it; and if I had not been already satisfied on the subject, the increased opposition in the Dardanelles would have convinced me I had done right, when I resolved on the measure as indispensably necessary. I therefore weighed with the squadron on the morning of the 21st; and as it had been reported that the Turkish fleet designed to make an effort against us, to give them an opportunity, if such was really their intention, I continued to stand on and off during the day: but they shewed no disposition to move. I therefore, as every hour was of importance, bore up at dusk with the squadron; we arrived off Point Pesquies towards the evening of the 2nd instant, but the daylight would not admit of our attempting to pass the castles, and the squadron came to anchor for the night; we weighed in the morning; and when I add that every ship was in safety outside of the passage about noon, it was not without the most lively sense of the good fortune that has attended us.

"The Turks had been occupied unceasingly in adding to the number of their forts; some had been already completed, and others were in a forward state. The fire of the two inner castles had, on our going up, been severe; but, I am sorry to say, the effects they have had on our ships in returning, has proved them to be doubly formidable; in short, had they been allowed another week to complete their defences throughout the channel, it would have been a very doubtful point whether a return lay open to us at all. The manner in which they employed the interval of our absence, has proved their assiduity. I transmit your lordship an account of the damages sustained by the respective

ships; as also their loss in killed and wounded, which your lordship will perceive is far from trifling.' The mainmast of the Windsor Castle being more than three quarters cut through by a granite shot of eight hundred weight, we have found great difficulty in saving it.

(Signed) "J. T. DUCKWORTH.

"P.S. I am sorry to observe, that in the course of this letter to your lordship I have omitted to mention that, having placed the Honourable Captain Capel in the Endymion, which had been advanced in the stream of the Bosphorus for the purpose of ascertaining when the squadron could stem the current, and for a watchful observation of the movements of the Turks, as well as to facilitate communication with the Porte, I feel myself indebted to that officer for his zealous attention and assiduity during the time he was placed in that arduous situation.

"J. T. D."

It required but little explanation of the motives that decided Sir J. Duckworth to repass the channel of the Dardanelles, and to give up all idea of attacking Constantinople. The exertions of General Sebastiani, and his instruction to the Turkish workmen, to erect bulwarks and place cannon on them and on the walls of the Seraglio, and to bristle the shores of the Dardanelles with mortars to throw stone-shot of 800 pounds' weight, while we were negotiating, (ten days off the town,) will sufficiently explain the necessity of making an escape to save the sacrifice of the whole fleet.

A mutual friend of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith and of General Sebastiani, had a long conversation with the latter on the subject of the affair of the Dardanelles. The friend mentioned to him the proposition of Sir Sidney to Sir J. Duckworth, to allow him to land and try his fortune at negotiation with the Sultan, in his capital. Sebastiani answered, that if he had landed under such a view, the game would probably have been up with him (Sebastiani); for that the Sultan had already sent for him, as soon as he found that the English fleet had actually passed through the mouth of the Dardanelles, and were proceeding towards the capital. In great alarm he said to him, that "he thought it right to tell him, he valued his capital more than he did his connexion with the French nation," and this candid intimation Sebastiani admitted was at once considered, by the French ambassador, as a hint so very significant, as to induce him to get together the papers of the embassy, to be destroyed, if necessary; so that he and his suite might hold themselves in readiness to embark, and claim the protection of the English fleet.

General Sebastiani, moreover, admitted that, just at this critical moment, on perceiving the mistake made by the English admiral, "of anchoring his fleet off Prince's Islands," from which anchorage it could not get to Constantinople, without a breeze sufficiently strong "to stem the current," he lost not the opportunity of making the proposal to the sultan, that "if you will give them (the English) three days of negotiation, I will undertake to put your capital in a position to successfully resist any attack they can make,

and will add such strength to the passage of the Dardanelles, as shall damage essentially the English fleet in its progress outward. The sultan," he said, "accepted this proposal, and Sir J. Duckworth has told you what was the result of it."

The friend observes, "I may say to you, that the same jealous feeling, which followed poor Sir Sidney every where all through his services, appears to have been conspicuous on this occasion. Had he commanded this expedition, as ought to have been the case, the result would most certainly have been very different. His name alone would have operated as a charm with the Turks, by whom he was respected and beloved. The moral influence, which he possessed over them to such an extraordinary degree, was here thrown away by the then councils of England; and the greatest fault of all was, that of placing the naval force under the direction, as it were, of the diplomatic agent. The fleet ought not to have passed the Dardanelles, until diplomatic measures had been brought to an end; and the object should then have been Constantinople, and the action against it, that of direct hostility. Things, however, were ordered otherwise."

The government, however, had no concern in sending Sir Sidney Smith to the Dardanelles as the junior of three admirals. A third flag officer was wanted, and Lord Collingwood, having Sir Sidney disposable after his Calabrian campaign, ordered him to join Sir J. Duckworth, to whom Sir J. Louis was already attached, and senior to Sir Sidney Smith. Sir Sidney had been sent to the Mediterranean by desire of Lord Nelson, to be under his immediate com-

mand, but that noble officer had fallen in the victory of Τραfalgar, before Sir Sidney's arrival on the station.

Sir Sidney does not complain, or appear at all mortified in being the third only in command, satisfied in being selected to execute the only efficient service in the way of fighting that occurred.

Sir Sidney Smith is the "Officer in the Squadron" mentioned in the following memorandum, entitled "Naval Poetry," and the author of the lines attached to it, which, setting aside the merit of the poetry, is most ingeniously conceived, and admirably managed, considering how much the introduction of some of the names must have shackled the freedom of the verse. It was most probably written for the amusement of his brother Charles Douglas and the rest of the family, and a copy of it was enclosed in the accompanying letter to him :—

MEMORANDUM.

NAVAL POETRY.

On the 14th of February, 1807, a squadron of his majesty's ships consisting of the Ajax, Canopus, Repulse, Standard, Pompée, Thunderer, Active, Windsor Castle, Lucifer, and Meteor bombs, commanded by Vice-Admiral Sir John Duckworth, K.B., in the Royal George, also the Endymion frigate, which had brought his majesty's ambassador from Constantinople, and afterwards was the medium of intercourse by flag of truce, assembled at the anchorage between Tenedos and Troy. The Ajax was unfortunately burnt by accident on the 14th, and on the 19th the remaining ships forced the passage of the Dardanelles, burning by their way the Turkish squadron commanded by the Captain Pasha which attempted to oppose their passage. On this occasion some conversation occurred as to the lines in "Moore's Almanac," for 1807, as applicable to existing circumstances, viz. "April, about this time the Turkish emperor dies, or it may be he hides his head, his people are tumultuous, let him save his life if he can, I give him fair warning of it." This almanac being put into the hands of an officer in the squadron, he returned it with the following lines :—

Ajax, alas! devouring flames destroy
His ashes left before the walls of Troy;
Canopus led the way, 'twixt "neighb'ring strands,"
Of Helespontus, thronged with Turkish bands.
Dreading Repulse the Turks dared not assail;
The British Standard turned the crescent pale:
On Cæsar's allies Pompée* vengeance wreaks,
And rushing in the midst their line he breaks;
While showers of deadly bolts the Thunderer hurled,
The anchor goes, again the sails are furled:
Whilst Asia† trembles wtth explosion dire,
An Active‡ torch in Europe§ kindleth fire.
The Pasha's fleet in fragments on the coast,
Propontis now doth bear the British host;
Its dread approach each Turkish heart appals,
Lo! Windsor Castle 's at Byzantium's walls.
Grim Lucifer his brimstone doth prepare,
Whilst fiery Meteor glows to dart in air;
Th' astonished Turks, who ne'er beheld the like,
Fear Royal George a final blow should strike;
Mercy they beg: Endymion|| stands between,
The hand of power to mercy still doth lean:
A truce requested, and obtain'd they break,
Loud tumult Sultan Selim's throne doth shake;
His empire's fate a thread alone doth bear,
Suspended hangs the blow of death in air;
'Tis not yet time, saith Moore, the spell to break
That Greece doth shackle: 'tis not time to take
Revenge on Europe's scourge, Mahommed's race:
A greater scourge for them his lines would trace,
The curse of hell, the greatest, man hath seen
'Tis Buonaparte's friendship he doth mean.

W. S. S.

* For an account of the destruction of the Ottoman squadron in the Bay of Nagara (Abydos) by the rear division of Sir John Duckworth's squadron commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, see the report of the latter to his commanding officer.

† Abydos in Asia.

‡ The Active was detached by Sir Sidney Smith to burn a Turkish frigate chased ashore on that side.

§ Sestos in Europe.

|| The Endymion was employed off Constantinople as a flag of truce.

The following private letter appears to be written to his brother Charles Douglas Smith.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO CHARLES DOUGLAS SMITH, ESQ.

"Pompée, off the Island of Tenedos,
March 11, 1807.

"DEAR CHARLES,

"I have written at length to my uncle, to Spencer, and to Lord Grenville, as I could seize moments in the midst of my occupations, amongst which, the throwing in the hints my experience dictates to prevent things going from bad to worse, has been an unceasing one, though I fear a thankless office. However, a sense of duty makes me act conscientiously, and my motives are not doubted by those who do not follow the advice or take the early warnings I have given. It is poor consolation to me, to see that the result sometimes justifies my predictions; it is painful to see so much within our reach, while our means of realising any object are inapplicable, notwithstanding their apparent magnitude; it is painful to look back and see our ascendency in these countries lost, by the political experiment of sending new diplomatic men, who (whatever their talents,) had to buy their local experience, and during their noviciate were totally in the hands of a dragoman, who, if not in the French interest, was in that of the Turks, which, becoming blended latterly by the march of the Russians into Moldavia and Wallachia, enabled Buonaparte to induce the Turks to see their safety in the success of the French arms, and not to listen to the counsel of the British ambassador,

who could no longer speak as an ally, after the expiration of our treaty, which was, as you know, signed by Spencer and me, (the two plenipotentiaries,) on the 6th of January, 1799. The Turks are wrong in their calculation after all, for they have more to fear from French pretended friendship, than from the passage of Russian troops through two provinces, that hardly belonged to them. I am quite sure that I could have made them see this, if I had been allowed to open a collateral intercourse with those, who could have overruled the cry of the fanatic junto and mob by our aid. The latter will be the victims in the end. '*Quem Deus vult perdere prius dementat,*' you will have said on the first knowledge you had of this rupture; the sultan knows better; but the ecclesiastical and juridical bodies being in one, and having a veto on every thing, he cannot act as sound policy dictates. Spencer will explain all this to you, and agree with me in the advice I sent the poor sultan by his confidential messenger, Isaac Bey Vizier, to employ the three fleets combined to chastise his rabble, and guard his capital against the French. I am convinced he personally was sorry to see us go. I wrote to Spencer on our passage down, to my uncle, and Lord Grenville since. I trust you are in communication; the whole is a series.

"Yours affectionately,

"W. S. Smith.

"N.B.—Killed going up and down, twenty-two; wounded, ditto, one hundred and ninety. Some valuable lives lost in a hap-hazard, hand-over-head boat expedition, to turn a few Turks out of the Prince's

Islands, more than I lost in disarming all Calabria, and yet I am criticised for pretending to be something of a general. I ought not to omit to say, for your satisfaction, that your son Thurlow proved himself to be of a good breed, by steady clear-headed conduct in the situation I entrusted to him, of signal lieutenant with me on the poop, where we could see round us and *know* the worst.

"Yours, &c.

"W. S. SMITH."

The following letter and memorial, the latter of which finishes the chapter, addressed to Lord Auckland, when first lord of the admiralty, are here inserted in anticipation of date, but are strictly and intimately connected with the affair of the Dardanelles.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD AUCKLAND.

"Paris, July 8, 1835.

"MY LORD,

"As the only surviving flag-officer of the squadron detached by Lord Collingwood, to force the passage of the Dardanelles, which was effected on February, 1807, and the one who commanded the portion thereof detached to destroy the Turkish fleet stationed at Point Pesquies, above the forts, to oppose our passage, and which was necessary to secure our return, I feel it incumbent on me, in justice to the officers and men under my command on that occasion, to lay the accompanying memorial before your lordship, requesting it may be transmitted to the right honourable the Board of Treasury, with the support of your lordship,

and that of the Admiralty, as our natural guardians and protectors, not doubting that we shall receive from our gracious sovereign and a liberal Parliament, the same favour and gratification that was granted under circumstances, in a great degree similar, in the case of the fleet under the command of Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Codrington, G. C. B.; the circumstances in our favour being stronger than those on which the grant to that fleet was made.

"I confide this letter and memorial to Captain Septimius Arabin, R. N., for delivery, as having been personally and efficiently employed in this arduous and dangerous service, with great distinction to himself, and the approbation of Sir John Duckworth, G. C. B., as well as mine, his immediate commanding officer.

"I forbear to make use of any argument in support of the simple statement, and those contained in the memorial to the treasury, persuaded that we shall find willing and able advocates in your lordship, and the members of the right honourable Board of Admiralty, many of whom, being naval men, will necessarily feel as I do, and do their utmost to further the interests of the profession, as to the past, and thereby afford due encouragement in cases of similar circumstances arising, which may be considered as not improbable, under the aspect of the times, when a power, that was formerly the ally of a neighbouring one, becomes a subservient vassal.

"I have the honour to remain, &c.,

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

Unsatisfactory in every way were the naval operations within the Dardanelles, and not least,—as the event will shew,—was the direct hostility manifested against the Ottoman Porte, close to the gates of his capital, by which England procured for herself a decided, active, and avengeful enemy in every part of the Turkish empire. We very soon experienced a melancholy specimen of this, by a dreadful slaughter of our troops at Rosetta, under Major-General Frazer, the particulars of which will be found in the following letters from Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, who, after the repassing of the Dardanelles, had been sent with a squadron under his command, by order, from Sir John Duckworth, to act in co-operation with the army above-mentioned. The letters are addressed to Admiral Sir John Thomas Duckworth.

SIR THOMAS LOUIS TO SIR JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH.

"Canopus, Aboukir Bay, April 2, 1807.

"SIR,

"The service I was directed upon by your order of the 27th, and letter of the 28th of March last, to carry into execution, in co-operation with the army, under the orders of Major-General Mackenzie Frazer, commenced at the moment of your departure from this anchorage, on the morning of the 29th ultimo. And all the boats of the squadron, and the dgerms provided for the purpose, were employed in embarking the troops at Aboukir, under the directions of Captains Hallowell and Shortland, and were all conveyed across and landed at the caravansera, at the entrance of Lake Etho, by four o'clock that afternoon, without any opposition on

the part of the enemy. From this time to the 31st ultimo, the army were employed in proceeding to Rosetta, and the launches, with carronades, and other armed boats, under Captain Hallowell, were lying below Fort St. Julian, ready to second the movements of the army, and to act offensively against the enemy, whenever it was practicable so to do.

"Thus far we anticipated the most favourable termination of our wishes, and that they would be crowned by success; but I am much grieved to inform you that the result was a cruel reverse. The army being urged on by the hopes of success, and deceived by the small apparent resistance at first made, incautiously entered the town of Rosetta, by doing which they suffered most severely from the fire of the Turks and Albanians, who, shut up in their houses, and secure from the danger of our musketry, slaughtered so many of our men, that it was judged absolutely necessary to immediately retreat, which was accordingly done, with the loss of some of our artillery and a howitzer.

"I am sorry to state to you that Major-General Wauchope, commanding the detachment on this unfortunate service, was killed in the town, and the Honourable Major-General Meade, badly wounded in the head, on the same occasion. Official returns of the killed, wounded, and prisoners of the army and navy, accompany this dispatch, for your information, and it is with most sincere regret I lament they are so large. The utmost exertion, and prompt assistance was afforded the army in their retreat by the boats, sent from the ships, under my orders, and such of the wounded sent carefully off in our boats and dgerms, as had not fallen

a sacrifice to the wanton and abominable cruelty of the Turks and Albanians, whose excesses were dreadful to those left in their power. The army after being conveyed across the lake retreated to Alexandria.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed "THOMAS LOUIS."

SIR THOMAS LOUIS TO SIR JOHN THOMAS DUCKWORTH.

"Canopus, Aboukir Bay, April 24, 1807.

"SIR,

"A second most serious defeat of our army before Rosetta, in *which*, and the former affair of the 31st of March, recited in my letter of the 2nd of April, will accompany this, and has altogether cost us from twelve hundred to fourteen hundred men, killed and wounded, has made our situation deplorable, both from the present weakness of the force remaining, not exceeding three thousand men, amongst which are at least eight hundred or nine hundred foreigners; and from the numerous enemies to contend with, without friend or ally in this country, which obliges me, immediately after this catastrophe, to dispatch the Wizard to you, without any delay, not even waiting to give you the particulars of the last unfortunate event.

"I have had a short consultation with the general, on the manner most proper to pursue in the unfortunate predicament we are placed; and anxiously inclined to do all that our slender resources will allow, to support the honour and interests of his majesty's service, have determined to concentrate all our forces in the city and harbour of Alexandria, until we hear from yourself and General Fox, most earnestly looking for-

ward for reinforcements, supplies of provisions, and money.

"The stock of provisions for the army does not exceed eight weeks, and you are equally a judge of the state of the wants of the navy with myself.

"No supplies whatever are to be procured in Alexandria, which is entirely cut off from the interior, and what there is in the city, to sustain and feed the inhabitants, is a very small proportion.

"As the enemies' force against us in this country is very numerous, and our powers of resistance but small, it may so happen that we perhaps may be obliged to quit Alexandria, before we receive answers to this dispatch. In that case you may be assured every necessary exertion will have been made, on our parts, that circumstances will admit.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "THOMAS LOUIS."

Sir John Duckworth, having thus disposed of the Rear-Admiral Sir Thomas Louis, sailed for Malta, where he found orders from Lord Collingwood, to give up the command of the squadron to the rear-admiral, with all the orders he had received from his lordship, for performing the important service for which he had been sent to the Archipelago. The admiral is moreover therein directed to proceed immediately to Spithead, where he is told it is intended he shall take the command of a squadron preparing to serve in the Baltic, and stating that it is of the utmost importance to his majesty's service he should arrive at Spithead at as early a period as possible. He did arrive on the 26th May, 1807,

having brought to England Mr. Arbuthnot, his family and suite: he struck his flag on the 1st June, and rehoisted it on the 18th July.

The Pompée, Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, arrived in Hamaoze, on the 9th June, and Sir Sidney, on the following day, requested permission to strike his flag, and proceed to Bath, for the re-establishment of his health. He was not permitted, however, to remain long unemployed, for we find that on the 12th November he sailed from Plymouth, with his flag in the Hibernia, accompanied by the following ships of the line under his command, the London, Elizabeth, Marlborough, Bedford, and Monarch, but it is not stated for what destination. He writes, however, to Sir W. Young, the port-admiral at Plymouth, dated *at sea*, 3rd December, 1807, transmitting a list of the Portuguese fleet, which had come out of the Tagus, on the 29th of November (he having left Plymouth only on the 12th of that month), requesting that if, by having suffered in a violent gale they had met with, they should bear up for Plymouth, they may receive supplies, and obtain repairs, particularly of their sails.

On the 6th December, he again writes to say that, "since the gale we have repaired, refitted, and revictualled all the ships that required it;" and he concludes by saying, "it remains for me only to urge the necessity of supplies of all kinds being sent to those ships at Rio de Janeiro;" and he also points out the ports at which it would be prudent to call, in the event of any of the fleet being obliged to take refuge on their way to the Brazils.

Here we have a specimen of the activity required in

preparing a fleet for a distant station, and of the foresight and precautions to be taken at home for the preservation of the fleet of a foreign power, not much accustomed, in those latter days, to be prepared for the accidents and perils of the wide ocean; this in anticipation of what may be expected from him, in his new situation as commander-in-chief, provided no undue interference be thrown in his way, a situation it was thought he ought to have held on his last employment, instead of being placed only third in command.

About twenty years after this affair of the Dardanelles, the surviving officers of the squadron had unsuccessfully petitioned the government for compensation for the capture and destruction of a Turkish squadron. Some time after this, Sir Sidney Smith thought proper to revive the application to the Lords of the Treasury, on the fresh ground of a grant of money having been made to the squadron at Navarino, for the destruction of some Turkish ships, a case similar to, but not so strong as that of the Dardanelles. The following is a copy of the memorial before mentioned.

"TO THE LORDS COMMISSIONERS OF HIS MAJESTY'S TREASURY.

"*The MEMORIAL of Sir William Sidney Smith, Admiral of the White Squadron of his Majesty's Fleet, and Knight Commander of the Most Honourable Military Order of the Bath, on behalf of himself and the Officers and Crews of his Majesty's ships employed in forcing the passage of the Dardanelles, in the month of February,* 1807,

"SHEWETH,

"That on the 28th of August, 1828, a memorial was presented to your right honourable board, from the late Admiral the Honourable Sir Arthur Kaye Legge, K.C.B., and other surviving officers of the squadron under the command of the late Sir John Thomas Duckworth, Bart., praying some compensation for their services in destroying a Turkish squadron at Point Pesquies, within the passage of the Dardanelles.

"That the said memorial having been nearly eight months under consideration, an answer was returned to the memorial, stating 'that there did not appear to their lordships to be any sufficient grounds for departing in this case from the established rules, which make the granting of head-money dependent on a previous declaration of war.'

"That your memorialist, bowing, as he felt it his duty, to the decision of your right honourable board, upon a point which was so peculiarly within its province, did not think of reviving the question, notwithstanding the strong impression resting on his own mind

that the services of the officers and men on the occasion alluded to entitled them to some reward from their country, until he learnt that, under the authority of parliament, after various unsuccessful applications, a grant of money had been made to the squadron engaged in the attack upon the Turkish ships at Navarino, a service which was performed not only without any previous declaration of war, but without being followed by any subsequent hostilities.

"Without at all undervaluing the brilliant services performed by the officers and men upon that occasion, your memorialist confidently submits that the circumstances connected therewith were infinitely less strong, as regards a state of hostility between the two countries, than those which attended the passage of his majesty's squadron through the Dardanelles.

"That the fleet under Sir John Duckworth acted under positive orders from his majesty's government, as communicated in the late Lord Collingwood's despatches from Cadiz, of the 13th May, 1807, to proceed to Constantinople, and, in the event of certain concessions not being made by the Ottoman Porte, to get possession of, or destroy, the Turkish fleet.

"That his majesty's ambassador to the Ottoman Porte had actually quitted Constantinople with the English factory, and embarked on board one of his majesty's ships before Sir John Duckworth had reached the Dardanelles, a circumstance in itself amounting to a cessation of amicable relations between the two countries, and which has always been considered a virtual declaration of hostilities.

"That it was not until the forts had fired upon his

majesty's ships in passing the Dardanelles to fulfil their instructions, and killed and wounded several men, that the squadron acted on the offensive, and that a portion was detached to destroy the Turkish fleet lying off Point Pesquies, which service was completely effected.

"That the number of ships destroyed and captured on that occasion was, as per margin,* and the number of guns either destroyed or spiked was * * * ; and that there were forty-four men killed, and one hundred and seventy-seven wounded, belonging to the ships of his majesty which were engaged. That about the same time a detachment of the British army was sent against Alexandria by order of government, which place they captured, and whither the squadron afterwards repaired; and that subsequently two successive expeditions were undertaken against Rosetta. These circumstances are merely mentioned by your memorialist, to shew that his majesty's government not only approved of the hostilities which took place against the Turks, but had previously contemplated them, and this is further demonstrated by the fact that an order in council was issued on the 13th July, 1807, directing an embargo to be laid on all ships and vessels belonging to the subjects of the grand Seignior.

"With reference to the former objection which was made to the memorial of Sir A. K. Legge, your memorialist ventures to remind your lordships, that the prayer of that memorial was not specifically for head-

* *Destroyed.*—One line-of-battle-ship, sixty-four guns; four frigates, three corvettes, one brig, two gun-boats.

Captured.—One corvette, one gun-boat.

Dispatch, February 21, 1807.

money, but for 'some compensation for the services of the officers and crews in destroying a Turkish squadron;' and, upon the precedent which has since been established in the case of Navarino, your memorialist humbly hopes that your right honourable board will be pleased to revise the decision upon the former application, and that the officers and men who served with him in the passage of the Dardanelles, and the destruction of the Turkish fleet, will be considered equally entitled to some compensation for the service performed on that occasion."

CHAPTER VII.

PORTUGAL AND THE TAGUS.

EMIGRATION OF HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE PRINCE-REGENT AND FAMILY, THE COURT AND ITS FOLLOWERS, WITH MANY OF THE PRINCIPAL INHABITANTS OF LISBON, TO THE BRAZILS.—LORD STRANGFORD TO FOLLOW AS AMBASSADOR TO THAT COURT, AND ADMIRAL SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH TO BE SENT AS COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF. — EMBARKATION OF THE ROYAL FAMILY, AND DEPARTURE FOR THE BRAZILS.

1807—1808.

THE great and inexorable disturber of the peace of Europe, the irresistible destroyer of whole nations and kingdoms had cast his baneful eye, towards the end of the year 1807, upon the small and tranquil state of Portugal; having already subjugated a great part of the kingdom of Spain, and held it till the invincible avenger of wrongs dislodged his myrmidons and drove them out with shame and infamy. One chief object of Buonaparte was to wound England through Portugal; and the prince-regent,—standing alone, and intimidated by his threats,—in the hope of conciliating the tyrant, unfortunately acceded to a compliance with his demands against England, and signed, on the 8th of November, an order for detaining the few British subjects, and the very inconsiderable portion of British property, that yet remained at Lisbon.

On the publication of this order the British ambassador removed the arms of England from the gates of his residence, demanded his passports, presented a remonstrance against this outrageous conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeded on the 17th of November to the British squadron, commanded by Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith, who had been ordered on the 7th of that month to proceed without delay in the execution of secret orders, and had just arrived off the mouth of the Tagus. Having immediately put himself in consultation with Lord Strangford, the result was to establish forthwith a most rigorous blockade of the river Tagus.

The effect of this measure was soon manifest by the general apprehension caused in the capital, which was not a little increased by the announcement of a French army, under the command of Junot, having entered Portugal, and being actually on its march to Lisbon. On the receipt of this intelligence, his lordship expressing his great desire to return to Lisbon to hold a consultation with the prince-regent and his minister, he was, of course, furnished with a proper passport and a flag of truce, and with a conveyance in his majesty's ship Confiance, as the means of security; and having arranged matters with the court, he returned to the fleet, and wrote to Mr. Canning a despatch, which fully explains how matters stood at the capital.

The following is the despatch alluded to from Lord Strangford, his majesty's minister plenipotentiary at the court of Lisbon, addressed to the Right Honourable George Canning, principal secretary of state for foreign affairs:—

LORD STRANGFORD TO MR. CANNING.

"Hibernia, off the Tagus, November 29, 1807.

"SIR,

"I have the honour of announcing to you that the Prince-Regent of Portugal has effected the wise and magnanimous purpose of retiring from a kingdom which he could no longer retain, except as the vassal of France; and that his royal highness and family, accompanied by most of his ships of war and by a multitude of his faithful subjects and adherents, have this day departed from Lisbon, and are now on their way to the Brazils, under the escort of a British fleet.

"This grand and memorable event is not to be attributed, only, to the sudden alarm excited by the appearance of a French army within the frontiers of Portugal. It has been the genuine result of the system of persevering confidence and moderation adopted by his majesty towards that country; for the ultimate success of which I had, in a manner, rendered myself responsible; and which, in obedience to your instructions, I had uniformly continued to support, even under appearances of the most discouraging nature. I had frequently and distinctly stated to the cabinet of Lisbon, that, in agreeing not to resent the exclusion of British commerce from the ports of Portugal, his majesty had exhausted the means of forbearance; that in making that concession to the peculiar circumstances of the prince-regent's situation, his majesty had done all that friendship and the remembrance of ancient alliance could justly require; but that a single step beyond the line of modified hostility,

thus most reluctantly consented to, must necessarily lead to the extremity of actual war.

"The prince-regent, however, suffered himself for a moment to forget that, in the present state of Europe, no country could be permitted to be an enemy to England with impunity; and that however much his majesty might be disposed to make allowance for the deficiency of the means possessed by Portugal of resistance to the power of France, neither his own dignity, nor the interests of his people, would permit his majesty to accept an excuse for a compliance with the full extent of her unprincipled demands.

"On the 8th instant, his royal highness was induced to sign an order for the detention of the few British subjects, and of the inconsiderable portion of British property which yet remained at Lisbon. On the publication of this order I caused the arms of England to be removed from the gates of my residence, demanded my passports, presented a final remonstrance against the recent conduct of the court of Lisbon, and proceeded to the squadron commanded by Sir Sidney Smith, which arrived off the coast of Portugal some days after I had received my passports, and which I joined on the 17th instant.

"I immediately suggested to Sir Sidney Smith the expediency of establishing the most rigorous blockade at the mouth of the Tagus; and I had the high satisfaction of afterwards finding that I had thus anticipated the intentions of his majesty; your despatches (which I received by the messenger, Sylvester, on the 23rd) directing me to authorise that measure, in case the Portuguese government should pass the bounds

which his majesty had thought fit to set to his forbearance, and attempt to take any farther step injurious to the honour or interests of Great Britain.

"Those despatches were drawn up under the idea that I was still resident at Lisbon, and though I did not receive them until I had actually taken my departure from that court, still, upon a careful consideration of the tenor of your instructions, I thought that it would be right to act as if that case had not occurred. I resolved, therefore, to proceed forthwith to ascertain the effect produced by the blockade of Lisbon, and to propose to the Portuguese government, as the only condition upon which that blockade could cease, the alternative (stated by you) either of surrendering the fleet to his majesty, or of immediately employing it to remove the prince-regent and his family to the Brazils. I took upon myself this responsibility in renewing negotiations after my public functions had actually ceased, convinced that, although it was the fixed determination of his majesty not to suffer the fleet of Portugal to fall into the possession of his enemies, still his majesty's first object continued to be the application of the fleet to the original purpose, of saving the royal family of Braganza from the tyranny of France.

"I accordingly requested an audience of the prince-regent, together with due assurances of protection and security; and upon receiving his royal highness's answer, I proceeded to Lisbon, on the 27th, in his majesty's ship Confiance, bearing a flag of truce. I had immediately most interesting communications with the court of Lisbon, the particulars of which shall be fully detailed in a future despatch. It suffices to mention in

this place, that the prince-regent wisely directed all his apprehensions to a French army, and all his hopes to an English fleet; that he received the most explicit assurances from me that his majesty would generously overlook those acts of unwilling and momentary hostility, to which his royal highness's consent had been extorted; and that I promised to his royal highness, on the faith of my sovereign, that the British squadron before the Tagus should be employed to protect his retreat from Lisbon, and his voyage to the Brazils.

"A decree was published yesterday, in which the prince-regent announced his intention of retiring to the city of Rio de Janeiro until the conclusion of a general peace, and of appointing a regency to transact the administration of government at Lisbon during his royal highness's absence from Europe.

"This morning the Portuguese fleet left the Tagus. I had the honour to accompany the prince in his passage over the bar. The fleet consisted of eight sail of the line, four large frigates, several armed brigs, sloops, and corvettes, and a number of Brazil ships, amounting, I believe, to about thirty-six sail in all. They passed through the British squadron, and his majesty's ships fired a salute of twenty-one guns, which was returned by an equal number. A more interesting spectacle than that afforded by the junction of the two fleets has been rarely beheld.

"On quitting the prince-regent's ship, I repaired on board the Hibernia, but returned immediately, accompanied by Sir Sidney Smith, whom I presented to the prince, and who was received by his royal highness with the most marked and gracious condescension.

"I have the honour to enclose lists of the ships of war which were known to have left Lisbon this morning, and which were in sight a few hours ago. There remain at Lisbon four ships of the line, and the same number of frigates, but only one of each sort is serviceable.

"I have thought it expedient to lose no time in communicating to his majesty's government the important intelligence contained in this despatch; I have therefore to apologise for the hasty and imperfect manner in which it is written.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"STRANGFORD."

List of the Portuguese fleet which sailed from the river Tagus, on 29th November, 1807, and joined the squadron under the order of Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith:—

SHIPS.	GUNS.
Principe Real	84
Rainha de Portugal	74
Conde Henrique	74
Meduza	74
Alfonso d'Albuquerque	64
D. Joâo de Castro	64
Principe de Brazil	74
Martim de Freitar	64

FRIGATES.	GUNS.
Minerva	44
Golfinho	36
Urania	32
And one other, name not known.	
BRIGS.	
Voador	22
Vingança	22
Zebré	22
SCHOONER.	
Cunoza	12

(Signed) JOAQUIM JOZE MONTO TORRES, Major-General.

List of the Portuguese ships that remained at Lisbon:—

SHIPS.	GUNS.	REMARKS.
S. Sebastiano de	64	Unserviceable without a thorough repair.
Maria Prime	74	Ditto, ordered to be made into a floating battery, but not yet fitted.
Vasco de Gama	74	Under repair and nearly ready.
Princeza des Beirá	64	Condemned; ordered to be fitted as a floating battery.

FRIGATES.		
Tenix	48	In need of thorough repair.
Amazona	44	
Perola	44	
Tritaõ	40	Part repair.
Veney	30	Ditto.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE HONOURABLE W. W. POLE.

"H. M. S. Hibernia, 22 Leagues to the W. of the Tagus, December 1, 1807.

"SIR,

"In a former despatch, dated 22nd of November, with a postscript of the 26th, I conveyed to you for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the proofs contained in various documents of the Portuguese government being so much influenced by a misplaced terror of the French arms, as to have acquiesced to certain demands of France operating against Great Britain, to the full extent of the utmost evil that could arise from the actual presence of a French force at the mouth of the Tagus. The distribution of the Portuguese force was made wholly on the coast, while the land side was left totally unguarded. British subjects of all descriptions were detained, and measures were adopted so entirely according to the system of modern France, that it was impossible not to see the dictatorial and coercive power under which our ancient ally, the Prince-Regent of Portugal, was placed, by the abject timidity or the base corruption of some members of his royal highness's council.

"At the same time, the evil being as above stated, it became necessary to inform the Portuguese government, that the case had arisen which required, in obedience to my instructions, that I should declare the

Tagus in a state of blockade, and Lord Strangford agreeing with me, that hostility should be met by hostility as a matter of course, the blockade was instituted, and the instructions we had received were acted upon to their full extent; still, however, bearing in recollection the first object wisely adopted by his majesty's government of opening a door of refuge for the head of the Portuguese government, menaced as it was by the powerful arms and baneful influence of the enemy, to the utmost possible extent, and considering the necessity of preventing the Tagus becoming the central position of a French naval force, to be created by the simple change of the colours on board the Portuguese fleet, and the consequent inducement for a re-union there at a favourable opportunity of the wreck and remnant of the French and Spanish navies, a combination big with mischief to Ireland in particular, and to the British empire in general, I thought it my duty to adopt the means that suggested themselves, as still open to us, of endeavouring to induce the Prince-Regent of Portugal to reconsider his decision, 'to unite himself with the continent of Europe,' and to recollect that he had possessions on that of America, affording an ample balance for any sacrifice he might make here, and from which he would be cut off by the nature of maritime warfare, the termination of which could not be *dictated* by the combination of the continental powers of Europe, although insular powers could *prescribe* the limits of commerce, and consequent wealth, to all maritime states, as well as claim their fair share of advantage therein.

"In this view I wrote to the minister of war, M.

d'Aranjo, and I have now the honour to enclose to you his answer (marked A,) which I received by the hands of Captain Yeo, of the Confiance, to my letter of the 22nd of November, a copy of which goes by this conveyance.

"Lord Strangford receiving at the same time an acquiescence to the proposition, of which that officer had been the bearer, for his lordship to land and confer with the prince-regent, under the guarantee of a flag of truce, I furnished his lordship with that conveyance and security most readily, having the fullest reliance that his knowledge of the national and individual characters of those he had to deal with, together with his promptitude, perspicuity, energy, and firmness, would assimilate with whatever he might find of those qualities not yet blighted by the paramount influence of France in the prince's council, and the paralysing terror of the French army, which was reported to be already within the frontier of Portugal, in full march to the capital; and that if effectual resistance could not be combined on a sudden, by turning the Portuguese arms in the right direction, which was hardly practicable on such short notice, his lordship might give the prince that confidence which his word of honour, as the king's minister plenipotentiary, bearing that of a British admiral, could not fail to inspire towards inducing his royal highness to throw himself and his fleet into the arms of Great Britain, in perfect reliance on the king's forgiving a forced act of apparent hostility against his flag and subjects, and establishing his royal highness's government in his ultramarine possessions, as originally promised. I have now, sir, the heartfelt satisfaction of

announcing to you that my hopes and expectations from this hazardous step, which Lord Strangford handsomely volunteered under very unpromising circumstances, considering the vicinity of the French army and the state of the elements, were realised to the utmost extent.

"On the morning of the 29th I was gratified by the receipt of the dispatch from his lordship, No. 5 (marked B,) dated the 28th, at night, and at the same time the Portuguese fleet came out of the Tagus, with his royal highness the Prince of Brazil, and the whole of the royal family of Braganza, on board, together with many of his faithful councillors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his poorer fortunes.

"This fleet of eight sail of the line, four frigates, three brigs, and one schooner, with a crowd of large armed merchant ships, arranged itself under the protection of that of his majesty's, while the firing of a reciprocal salute of twenty-one guns announced the friendly meeting of those who, but the day before, were in open hostility; the scene impressing every beholder, except the French army on the hills, with the most lively emotions of gratitude to Providence that there yet existed a power in the world able as well as willing to protect the oppressed; inclined to pardon the misguided and capable, by its fostering care, to found new empires and alliances, from the wreck of the old ones, destroyed by the ephemeral power of the day, on the lasting basis of mutual interest.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. Sidney Smith."

(A.)

A copy of the Answer from his excellency M. d'Aranjo, minister of foreign affairs and war, to Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith.

"MONSIEUR,

"J'ai eu l'honneur de recevoir la depêche de votre excellence ; et le prince regent, mon maître, m'ordonne de vous déclarer qu'il vient de prendre la resolution de partir dans son escadre, avec toute la famille royale ; aujourd'hui toutes les despositions pour cet effet seront hâtées, et elle sera prête a sortir après demain. Il souhaite que, pour la frequence des communications, vous soyez à vue, ou à la baie de Cascaes, autant que les vents le permettront.

"J'ai l'honneur d'être, &c.,

(Signed) "D'ARANJO."

(B.)

LORD STRANGFORD TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Lisbon, November 28, 1807, at night.

"SIR,

"I am to inform you that a great and rapid change has taken place in the conduct of the Portuguese government, and that preparations are actually and *bonâ fide* making, with due alacrity, for the execution of those articles of the convention which relate to the disposal of the Portuguese navy.

"The prince-regent and all the royal family are embarked, and propose to sail instantly, as a French army is within nine leagues of Lisbon.

"Time will not admit of your entry into the Tagus,

for the purpose of co-operating in the preparations necessary for the removal of the Portuguese fleet, as you will probably receive this letter after his royal highness has already passed the Bar. And it is on this ground that his royal highness does not acquiesce in the preliminary surrender of the forts of St. Julian and the Bugio.

"Every vessel belonging to the Portuguese marine, whether royal or commercial, is engaged and prepared to accompany his royal highness.

"It is utterly inexpedient to throw any unnecessary difficulties in the way of his royal highness's departure, or to raise any question that might be avoided; for I am convinced that so great is the discontent of the people, and so strong the consequent alarm of his royal highness, that all depends on the support and encouragement which his royal highness may receive from us, and of which I have given him the most frank and unequivocal assurance.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "STRANGFORD."

The second letter of Sir Sidney, of the same date as the preceding, is so nearly to the same purpose, that it is hardly worth reprinting; yet there are reasons that it should appear.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE HON. W. W. POLE.

"His Majesty's ship Hibernia, 22 leagues West of the Tagus, December 1, 1807.

"SIR,

"In a former despatch, dated the 22nd November, with a postscript of the 26th, I conveyed to you for

the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, the proofs contained in various documents, of the Portuguese government being so much influenced by terror of the French arms, as to have acquiesced to certain demands of France operating against Great Britain.

"The distribution of the Portuguese force was made wholly on the coast, while the land side was left totally unguarded. British subjects of all descriptions were detained; and it therefore became necessary to inform the Portuguese government that the case had arisen which required, in obedience to my instructions, that I should declare the Tagus in a state of blockade; and Lord Strangford agreeing with me that hostility should be met by hostility, the blockade was instituted, and the instructions we had received were acted upon to their full extent.

"Still, however, bearing in recollection the first object adopted by his majesty's government of opening a refuge for the head of the Portuguese government, menaced as it was by the powerful arm and baneful influence of the enemy, I thought it my duty to adopt the means open to us, of endeavouring to induce the prince-regent of Portugal to reconsider his decision 'to unite himself with the continent of Europe,' and to recollect that he had possessions on that of America, affording an ample balance for any sacrifice he might make here, and from which he would be cut off by the nature of maritime warfare, the termination of which could not be dictated by the combination of the continental powers of Europe.

"In this view, Lord Strangford, having received an

acquiescence to the proposition which had been made us, for his lordship to land and confer with the prince-regent under the guarantee of a flag of truce, I furnished his lordship with that conveyance and security, in order that he might give to the prince that confidence which his word of honour, as the king's minister plenipotentiary, united with that of a British admiral, could not fail to inspire towards inducing his royal highness to throw himself and fleet into the arms of Great Britain, in perfect reliance on the king's overlooking a forced act of apparent hostility against his flag and subjects, and establishing his royal highness's government in his ultra-marine possessions as originally promised.

"I have now the heartfelt satisfaction of announcing to you, that our hopes and expectations have been realised to the utmost extent. On the morning of the 29th, the Portuguese fleet (as per list annexed) came out of the Tagus with his Royal Highness the Prince of Brazil, and the whole of the royal family of Braganza, on board, together with many of his faithful counsellors and adherents, as well as other persons attached to his present fortunes.

"This fleet of eight sail of the line, four frigates, two brigs, and one schooner, with a crowd of large armed merchant ships, arranged itself under the protection of that of his majesty, while the firing of a reciprocal salute of twenty-one guns announced the friendly meeting of those who, but the day before, were on terms of hostility; the scene impressing every beholder (except the French army on the hills) with the most lively emotions of gratitude to Providence, that

there yet existed a power in the world able, as well as willing, to protect the oppressed.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

A third letter of the same date as the two preceding, contains some additional information :—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"His Majesty's ship Hibernia, 22 leagues West of the Tagus, December 1, 1807.

"SIR,

"In another dispatch of this day's date, I have to inform you that I have by signal, (for we have no other mode of communicating in this weather,) directed Captain Moore in the Marlborough, with the London, Monarch, and Bedford, to stay by the body of the Portuguese fleet, and render it every assistance. I keep in the Hibernia close to the prince's ship. I cannot as yet send the Foudroyant, Plantagenet, and Conqueror on to Admiral Purvis, according to their lordships' order of the 14th, which, I trust, will be the less felt as an inconvenience off Cadiz, as they appear to have been ordered thither with reference to the Russians being within the straits, before it was known they were on my station.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

His last communication is as follows :—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE SECRETARY OF THE ADMIRALTY.

"Hibernia, at sea, lat. 37° 47′ long. 14° 17′, December 6, 1807.

"SIR,

"I have the satisfaction to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the admiralty, that I succeeded in collecting the whole of the Portuguese fleet except a brig, after the gale, and that the weather was such as to allow the necessary repairs, and such distribution of supernumeraries and resources to be made, as to enable Vice-Admiral Don Manuel d'Acunha, Sottomayor, to report to me yesterday all the ships capable of performing the voyage to Rio Janeiro, except one line-of-battle ship, which he requested might be conducted to an English port; I meant to escort her part of the way, but she did not quit the fleet with me last night as settled. I hope, however, she may arrive safe, as she is not in a bad state, being substituted for the Martino de Freitas, which was at first destined to go to England, in consequence of a fresh arrangement made yesterday, on the latter being found in the best state for the voyage of the two. I have detached Captain Moore in the Marlborough, with the London, Monarch, and Bedford, to attend the Portuguese fleet to the Brazils.

"I have thought it my duty, in addition to the usual order, to direct him to take the above ships under his orders, and also to give him, Captain Moore, an additional one, to hoist a broad pendant after passing Madeira; in order to give him greater weight and consequence in the performance of the important and unusually delicate duties I have confided to him. I

feel the most perfect reliance in that officer's judgment, ability, and zeal.

"The Portuguese ships did not, after this repartition, want more provisions or slops from us than the list enclosed, which I supplied from this ship and the Conqueror.

"This dispatch will be delivered by Captain Yeo, of his majesty's sloop Confiance, who has shewn great address and zeal in opening the communications by flag of truce, which it was the interest of those in power, who were against the measure of emigration, to obstruct. Lord Strangford speaks of his conduct in terms of warm approbation; on this ground I beg leave to recommend him to their lordships, to whom his general merits as an officer are already well known. Having been in Lisbon without restraint, during the intercourse, he is qualified to answer any questions their lordships may wish to put to him.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. Sidney Smith."

Towards the end of December, Admiral Sir Charles Cotton was sent to relieve Sir Sidney Smith in command of the squadron off the Tagus, where he found, no doubt, that this able and excellent predecessor had made every necessary arrangement, diplomatic and otherwise, that the circumstances of the time required, or that his enlightened, active, and intelligent mind could desire. The view in which his conduct was considered by his immediate superiors will be best evinced by the following letter, which he received on striking his flag, from Mr Secretary Pole.

THE HON. W. W. POLE TO CAPTAIN SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Admiralty Office, December 28, 1807.

"SIR,

"I lost no time in laying your despatches, brought by Captain Yeo of his majesty's ship Confiance, and by the Trafalgar letter of marque, before my lords commissioners of the admiralty; and I am commanded by their lordships to express their high approbation of your judicious and able conduct, in the management of the service entrusted to your charge, and in the execution of the various orders you have received from time to time.

"Their lordships are strongly impressed with the propriety of the whole of your conduct towards the royal family of Portugal: the respectful attention which you appear to have shewn to the illustrious house of Braganza, has been in strict conformity to their lordships' wishes, and they have directed me to express their complete satisfaction at the manner in which you have in this, as well as in every other respect, obeyed their instructions.

"My lords are pleased to approve of your having supplied the necessary succours to the Portuguese fleet from his majesty's ships; and I am commanded to acquaint you, that, under the peculiar circumstances of the case, their lordships are satisfied of the necessity of your resuming in person the strict blockade of the Tagus, and they approve of your having detached from your squadron four sail of the line, under the command of Captain Moore, to escort the royal family of Portugal to Rio de Janeiro.

"My lords concur in the propriety of your directing the officer in command of the squadron, destined for this important service, to hoist a broad pendant after he had passed Madeira, and they approve of the instructions to Captain Moore, and of the selection you have made of that distinguished and judicious officer.

"I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) "W. W. POLE."

The departure of the Portuguese fleet on the morning of the 29th of November, with the Prince Royal of Brazil and the whole of the regal family of Braganza on board, and various adherents and others attached to his present fortunes, comprising a fleet of about thirty-six sail of vessels, exclusive of the four English ships of the line, was a novel and imposing, yet a melancholy sight, being calculated by the occasion to inspire the spectators, and especially the remaining inhabitants, with gloomy forebodings. A sight it was pronounced, unparalleled in history—a sovereign, his family, and friends voluntarily abandoning the conveniences, comforts, and luxuries of life, committing themselves to the care and confidence of those, who might have been considered in the light of enemies, to court dangers unknown, on an element untried; proceeding to a distant clime, to throw themselves into the arms of a rude, unpolished people; and all this to avoid French friendship and its concomitant curses, French cruelty and oppression; than which they had nothing better to hope by remaining at home.

The prince-regent had a slight specimen of what might be expected from French fraternity, had he re-

mained, by a visit he had from one of Buonaparte's generals, of which the following note, headed S. S. S. (the common mark of Sir Sidney Smith) gives an instance.

S. S. S.

"Lannes at Lisbon, in 1807, as ambassador from Napoleon, officially insulted the Prince-Regent of Portugal according to his instructions. He asked an audience to make an official communication, and was told by the prince-regent to go through the minister for foreign affairs, according to the general custom, as well of his court, as of others. He refused to do this; and wrote a manifesto, which he took himself to the palace, and desired the sentinel to have it delivered immediately. The sentinel refused; whereupon Lannes (Montebello) threw the paper at the foot of the sentry, who afterwards picked it up, and it thus found its way to the prince-regent. Whereupon his royal highness sent to see the ambassador; and Lannes took the occasion to say everything harsh and disagreeable to him, keeping his hat on the whole interview in the royal presence. After this had gone on for some time, the prince said to him, that it might be more agreeable, perhaps, to finish the conference in the garden, as he (the prince) had not yet taken his usual morning walk.

"They accordingly went into the garden. The ambassador now uncovered his head, and assumed a very different manner, which the prince ventured to observe to him. 'Yes,' replied Lannes, 'it is very true; you now see me as General Lannes, before

I was l'ambassadeur.' After this they had several conferences, and were apparently very good friends."

This anecdote the prince related to Sir Sidney Smith, and he also told him that Lannes had frequently spoken of Sir Sidney to him in terms of the greatest admiration, for the cool bravery he displayed at the siege of Acre, where they had been in close contact.

Sir Sidney was not relieved in his command immediately on the arrival of Sir Charles Cotton, but was sent by him to examine Gibraltar, Porta Praya, and Madeira, whether any French ships or cruising vessels had visited these ports. While in the Foudroyant at Gibraltar, on the 29th of February, 1808, he received an order from the board to resume the command of the squadron that had sailed to the coast of South America, and with three ships of the line, named therein, which Sir Charles Cotton had received orders to place under his command, to proceed in company with the Agamemnon and the Confiance to the Brazil coast; and, having taken under his orders the whole of the ships and vessels on and intended for that coast, to hoist his flag as commander-in-chief.

CHAPTER VIII.

THE BRAZILS.—RIO DE JANEIRO.

ARRIVAL AT RIO DE JANEIRO, AND RECEPTION BY THE PRINCE-REGENT.—GIVES A BANQUET IN THE FLAG-SHIP TO THE ROYAL FAMILY. — STATE OF POLITICAL PARTIES IN THE BRAZILS.—DISCUSSIONS CONCERNING THE SPANISH PROVINCES IN THE LA PLATA.—ARRIVAL OF ADMIRAL DE COURCY, AND DEPARTURE OF ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

1808—1809.

THE orders of the admiralty to Sir Sidney were dated the 25th of January, 1808; but what with the stoppage at Gibraltar, where he was ordered to communicate with Lieutenant-General Sir John Moore, and calling at other ports, together with the change of ships at sea, the Foudroyant being much out of repair, it was not before the 17th of May that he reached the magnificent harbour of Rio de Janeiro, in his majesty's ship London; where he was cordially received by the Prince-Regent, the Princess of Brazil, and all the royal family; and it need scarcely be said, with a most hearty welcome by all his old comrades who left him off the Tagus. The following is the first communication that appears after his arrival on the new station, as commander-in-chief:—

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE HONOURABLE W. W. POLE.

"His Majesty's ship London, Rio de Janeiro, June 20, 1808.

"SIR,

"Commodore Moore will have so fully stated all the circumstances of the voyage and arrival of the combined squadron, and the establishment of the government of Portugal in this colony, that it is only necessary for me to state the events subsequent to my arrival on the 17th of May. The first public act, concerning the combined squadrons, was the appointment of his royal highness the Infant of Spain Don Pedro Carlos, nephew to the prince-regent, as high-admiral of Portugal, by which appointment, I learn from the Viscount d'Anadia, minister of marine, that his functions as to all internal regulations of the navy had ceased; and they seem now to be confined to the ultra-marine governments, viz. the Islands, Africa, and Goa. This continental colony, that was in that department being now of course in that of the minister of the interior. His royal highness's flag is not flying, nor was it hoisted on board any ship the day the prince-regent did me the honour to dine on board the ship bearing my flag, on the 4th of June; when the king's birth-day was celebrated in due form; the whole royal family (except the Queen and Princess-dowager of Brazils), the ministers, and the whole court being present on board. On that occasion, his royal highness wore the standard of Portugal in his barge; it was hoisted at the fore, while his majesty's royal standard was, as usual on his birth-day, at the main, where it remained till after his majesty's health, his own, and other appropriate healths were drunk, when

his royal highness ordered his to be hauled down and presented to me, by the senior commodore of his royal navy present, desiring me 'to wear the arms of Portugal as thereon emblazoned, with those of my family and my descendants for ever, in memory of the 29th of November, 1807, and of that auspicious day when he was engaged in celebrating the birth-day of his august ally, on board one of the ships of his royal navy.'

"His royal highness was pleased to express himself as highly gratified on this occasion, both by himself and his minister; and I, of course, cultivate the most perfect good understanding with every individual member of this government, from the highest to the lowest, for the advancement of the alliance and the good of his majesty's service. The injunction given by their lordships, in their letter, as to avoiding giving offence to the inhabitants of these countries, has been duly circulated by me; and I am happy to be able to say there has been no complaint of aggressions on our part, nor has the government been deficient in endeavouring to trace the authors of disturbance, when individuals of this nation have been in some few instances guilty thereof. The discipline preserved by Commodore Moore and the captains of the squadron I detached under his command, and the hospitality shewn by them was such as to lay the basis of the harmony which so happily exists; and his royal highness has been pleased to decorate them with medals, and to revive the Order of the Sword established by Alphonso V., commemorative of the great event of the translation of an European government to this side of the Atlantic and to this hemisphere. His royal highness

the prince-regent and his ministers look with anxiety to the prevention of the arrival of any French force in the River Plate, or of arms being landed on the south shore. I accordingly mean to keep the squadron cruising in succession, which will preserve them in health and in a proper state as to efficiency.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The events of the 4th of June, therefore, were calculated to ensure a pleasing recollection to all, who were partakers of the condescension, the benignity, and the good humour of the prince-regent, his lady the Princess of Brazil, and of the other members of the royal family, as well as the ministers of his royal highness, and the principal officers of state. It was, in fact, a day of gaiety and delight apparently to all; yet appearances are sometimes deceitful, and forcibly kept up to conceal unpleasant realities. The prince-regent, for instance, and his minister for war and the foreign department, Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, had committed themselves in a very serious affair, as far as their honour and their word were concerned, and in which Sir Sidney ultimately so far involved himself, as to occasion a more speedy removal from his transatlantic appointment than he expected, and sooner than had probably been intended at home.

This affair in which the recently arrived court of Rio de Janeiro were already involved, and in which they had engaged Sir Sidney, is stated by him in a letter to the secretary of the admiralty, of the 5th of August, 1808, wherein he says,—

"Some time after I arrived here his Excellency Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, minister of war and foreign affairs, after stating the necessity of a good look out at sea, to prevent the arrival of any French force in the River Plate, which might occupy the northern bank of that river, and menace the southern frontier of the Portuguese territory, informed me that his royal highness had sent an officer of his army, Marshal Curado, to treat with the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, on the basis of a continuance of the, as yet uninterrupted, commercial relations between the two countries; and in the hope to obtain the cession of the territory formerly belonging to Portugal in that country, namely, St. Sacramento on the river Plate, as the price of their continuance of commerce and of peace; adding, that in case this negotiation should fail, it would immemediately become necessary to occupy the posts, on the north shore of the river Plate, with Portuguese troops, as the only means of preventing the French from doing it; and in that case his royal highness looked to the naval force under my orders to cover such an operation by sea; and to me personally, to direct it entirely both by land and sea, for which purpose he meant to desire me to command the combined forces destined for such an expedition." And he adds, "His royal highness, at different times, when I had the honour of a private audience, urged the same topic with great eagerness, and seemed surprised that I did not manifest the same, confining myself to the urging of preparations. I, of course, professed my readiness to do my utmost to cover that vulnerable part of the frontier of our ally, as is my duty, and did not refuse

the command of the Portuguese part of the force, as there is no British army officer here to direct the land part, or to complain of a naval officer leading soldiers into battle in combination with artillery afloat, where it cannot be conveyed over land."

So far, and from other parts of his letters, it is clear that the prince-regent, Don Rodrigo, the war minister, and Sir Sidney Smith, were desirous of, and looking forward to, a war against the Spanish settlements on the river Plate; and, as a preparatory step, Sir Sidney says, in the same royal conference, "I urged the departure of Mr. Liniers and all Spaniards from hence, considering them out of their place here; this was consented to; and I sent them away in the Hydra transport in charge of Lieutenant Smith, who is sent for the English prisoners to be released by the Spanish secretary of state's order."

The way in which he speaks of sending away Liniers is the more remarkable, as he was aware of the negotiation which had been carried on, by that gentleman (the brother of the Viceroy of Buenos Ayres), with Don Rodrigo de Souza, which had been approved of and consented to by the prince-regent, and which wanted only the regular form of an agreement to be drawn up and signed.

Count Liniers was no common person; full of intelligence, open, bold, and candid, as his conduct and replies on the discussion of the negotiation will evince, and a copy of which was sent home in the despatch of Sir Sidney Smith; it is the more surprising that he should have been so summarily despatched, *sent away* as Sir Sidney says, and so soon after they had all

agreed to the grounds of a treaty, which Liniers calls only a narrative of occurrences relative to Count Liniers, in Rio de Janeiro, and which is as follows:—

Narrative of occurrences relative to Count Liniers, in Rio de Janeiro.

"After having left Lisbon, as it were by miracle and worked my passage on board a merchant vessel, under the Portuguese name of Henrique José de Gobora, in quality of clerk of the said vessel, I preserved the same *incognito* here, and obtained a passport for Buenos Ayres under that name. The caution I observed here enabled me to remain without being discovered till the 18th of last March, when some Spaniards having noticed me, my secret was divulged, and reached the knowledge of his royal highness the prince-regent, who mentioned it to Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, his minister for the war and foreign departments.

"The minister above referred to, who has known me these ten years past; and always expressed much friendship for me in Lisbon, assured his sovereign that I might render him essential service in his political views relative to the Spanish colonies of Rio de la Plata; in consequence of which I was sought for by the judge of the criminal court, and conducted by this magistrate to the minister's house, the whole of which was done in the most delicate manner, and every respect shewn to me.

"The conference began with general assurances of the desire to live in peace with us, to which I replied that we most certainly had the same desire; of this he

said they wanted some proofs, and his royal highness had determined to entrust me with negotiations relative to this object.

Count Liniers.—His royal highness does me great honour by this mark of confidence, let him be pleased to give me his orders thereon, and I will faithfully lay them before the government at Buenos Ayres, on my arrival there.

Don Rodrigo.—That is not our intention, as we mean for you to remain here, until an answer shall come from your brother (he is vice-roy of the La Plata provinces).

Count Liniers.—This he will readily give you; and will do all in his power to act up to it, without, however, failing in his duty, or committing his dignity, or the rights of his sovereign, or the interest and honour of the Spanish nation.

Don Rodrigo.—His proclamation of the 13th February does not shew very pacific intentions, which has caused much uneasiness here, it is therefore necessary you should write on this subject.

Count Liniers.—That proclamation has been misunderstood, it having been made only with a view of quieting the minds of the people, and to prevent them from committing any aggressions against the Portuguese; nevertheless, I will write thereon agreeably to your excellency's desire, and you shall see the letter. (*N. B.*—I wrote accordingly, and entrusted my letter to the minister. I do not know whether it has yet arrived.)

"At this period the conversation changed from a dialogue to a vehement discourse from Don Rodrigo,

during which it was impossible for me to say a word. This discourse might be considered as a miscellany of insinuations and attempts at seduction, with respect to him and me. The minister did not express himself clearly; but I plainly perceived that, with the hopes of gaining me over, and intimidating me, he cherished the expectation that our colonies would spontaneously throw themselves into the arms of Portugal, to avoid the danger of a double war with this nation and Great Britain united.

Don Rodrigo.—My dear count, you may excuse yourself from taking charge of this negotiation, because after all, you well know that the crime you have committed, in coming here without a passport, and under a false name, are crimes punishable by the laws of every country with the greatest severity.

Count Liniers.—I cannot deny having committed that crime. My head is at his royal highness's disposal; but I trust that my brother values me enough to be convinced I would much rather lay it on a block, than be wanting in my duty as a Spanish officer, and a man of rank, who will never submit to the humiliation of transmitting propositions which would occasion him a blush.

Don Rodrigo.—Such a thing is by no means intended; you are here amongst men of honour, and it is only expected of you to concur in obtaining advantages for both nations.

Count Liniers.—Before I can reply to this, a little time will be necessary for me to reflect on many points of your excellency's discourse, of which I have not lost a single word; but first of all, let your excellency

lay it down as the basis of every negotiation, that it will be as impossible to gain either my brother or me by seduction, as to intimidate us by threats. (Here the door opened, and a principal minister coming in, I was dismissed.)

"Two days after I put the following memorial into the hands of Don Rodrigo."

"Memorial of Count Liniers to his Excellency Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, 20th of March, 1808.

"Flattered by the confidence which his royal highness has deigned to place in my slender talents, for the negotiation with which he has thought fit to entrust me, I hold it my duty towards proving myself worthy thereof, to express my ideas on the different points we may have to discuss, with the sincerity which should ever be attached to my rank and character, and which it behoves me to cherish as the only means of deserving the sovereign's benevolence, and the esteem of his ministers.

"Should I be asked if my brother's intentions with respect to Portugal are pacific, and what proofs he will give thereof, I would answer that my brother's intentions are really the most pacific, that the proofs he will give thereof will be to protect and facilitate the commerce of the Portuguese in Rio de la Plata, and likewise protect Portuguese persons and property throughout all the provinces under his command; to strictly prohibit, and severely punish, every aggression against the subjects of his royal highness, and to avoid causing

any uneasiness to Portugal, by a sudden collection of troops on the frontiers of the two countries.

" But if any cession or abandonment of territory, or even a change of dominion should be required as the proof in question, your excellency may depend upon it, that this is entirely out of his power to do, and is very far from his principles; in this case I can answer positively in his name with a formal negative.

" I here refer to the decision of the most upright of men, to the decision of Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, if he had been entrusted by his sovereign with the government of any of his colonies, what his conduct would be in a similar case?

" If I am told that Spain does not exist, your excellency well understands that this assertion is no other than a political metaphor, since Spain in reality does exist; and honour binds us with the force of a sacred law, to defend and support its rights by every means in our power.

" ' Spain will be divided; and you will see that this occurrence will materially alter the state of its colonies.' This cannot come to pass, nor is it even admissible for us to pre-suppose such disagreeable events.

" ' You ought to be well affected to the house of Bourbon.' Such an observation made to a French emigrant is superfluous. The King of Spain, whom I serve, is likewise of the same family.

" If you oblige us to declare war against you, consider with what forces we can attack you in conjunction with the English, and taking the Paulists into the account. I have not calculated your forces, but I can shew your excellency what we can oppose to them.

"The well-disciplined, experienced, and victorious army commanded by my brother, which is most highly paid, exceeds twenty thousand effective men, and can be doubled in case of need; it has an excellent and numerous artillery, besides the horse artillery, formed in the year 1796, and a light cavalry, known under the name of Blandengues, which has always existed.

"It is said that the Paulists are able marksmen, yet the Spanish tiger hunters and smugglers are equally good; these last, supported by the light cavalry and horse artillery, would very much incommode the brave Paulists in their march.

"As far as respects the English, they have not much reason to be proud of the attempts they have made in our districts.* They are, it is true, allies of the Portuguese, wherefore in that quality they can, and ought to inform the Portuguese, how well the Spaniards know how to defend themselves.

"There is yet an anecdote which possibly your excellency is unacquainted with, and which can likewise be thrown into the scale, if not as a great military means, still at least as a terrible instrument of destruction.

"Since the re-capture of Buenos Ayres, various Caziques of the Plains, and other Indian chiefs, came to tender their services to my brother; they offered to bring with them a numerous multitude of cavalry from their different tribes. These squadrons, as I before remarked, are not very terrible to an army, yet an army cannot disengage itself from them, and is continually subject to be surrounded, watched, and deprived

* Certainly not, if Whitelock's affair be alluded to.

by them of all supplies. The piercing sight of these Indians, the swiftness of their horses, and their natural agility are such, that it is in vain to pursue them. Wretched is the fate of any country over which they spread themselves. It is like an eruption of Numidians or Tartars; wherever they pass they spread desolation, they kill flocks and herds, destroy the inhabitants, and cut down and burn the harvest; finally, they are a fulminating cloud, teeming with Centaurs, which exterminate everything in its way, without leaving the smallest trace for the further vengeance of its followers.

"I promise your excellency, on my honour, that the picture I have just drawn, is a faithful one; I have not described a single thing which is not a fact; yet, after all, I can repeat to your excellency with confidence, that we will not provoke a war, although secure that we could support it with advantage. Under this supposition your excellency will permit me to offer a few reflections

"From my earliest infancy I have followed a military profession, and am still in the army, notwithstanding which, my opinion on war is, that even a just war is always the greatest misfortune which can befal a people; and that an unjust war is the greatest crime of governments. What then can be more unjust than a war made against a country for defending the rights of its sovereign with loyalty, valour, and by great sacrifices. Could there be any excuse for a trustee who, seeing himself in danger of being plundered, should intentionally, or from neglect, omit to defend the deposit entrusted to his charge?

Ah! if this principle of justice and morality could for a moment be withdrawn from the spirit of mankind, I would appeal to the recent honourable example of the Prince-Regent of Portugal, in his proceedings respecting English property; yet, in case we had the misfortune to experience a war, even supposing the Portuguese to obtain the best success possible, of what service could it be to them to extend their conquests to the left bank of Rio de la Plata, what would be the result? Her ancient possessions and the conquered countries entirely destroyed, vast deserts added to those she now possesses,—deserts which she can never people, cultivate, nor preserve; an advantageous commerce lost for ever, the eternal execration of her neighbours acquired; and, beyond all, would this indemnify the blood of millions of ruined men, and as many millions more who would be sacrificed?

"As I above remarked to your excellency, it is not fear that has urged me to change the picture; we sincerely wish for peace, yet war does not frighten us; and what I have just laid before your excellency is so evident, that it cannot fail to strike every man of sound judgment. If, as I hope, we are only to treat on peace and commerce, I will with pleasure and zeal pursue this negotiation; but I declare to your excellency that it shall not be a secret correspondence between my brother and me; but, on the contrary, I will communicate with the whole government at Buenos Ayres, agreeably with the following ideas.

"A viceroy in the colonies far from being despotic, has an extremely limited authority on certain points; in all that regards the branches of politics and public

revenue, he cannot act without the concurrence of the tribunals, the law on that matter being positive.

"My brother is bound by ties still more strict than those determined by the laws; those ties are formed from glory and patriotism, which, when united, nothing on earth is able to relax. My brother (and I can say it without boasting) is a chief in every respect capable of leading his army to victory; but without the aid and support of the cabildo and consulado of Buenos Ayres, the army could not have existed. Those generous citizens have filled the royal coffers, which before were empty, and done it with such magnificence and affection, as no other nation can produce an example of.

"There is likewise another consideration deserving of notice, which is, that the Spaniards have reaped the fruits of the humanity with which they treat their negroes, whereby each man's slaves have become his intrepid defenders.

"Your excellency, on these facts, may judge whether it is easy to conquer such a nation, or if such chiefs, with such a character, will easily suffer themselves to be seduced.

"Wishing that these considerations, when laid before his royal highness, may promote the spirit with which the negotiation should be followed up.

"I have the honour to be, &c."

"Sequel of my Conferences with Don Rodrigo on the 23rd and 26th of March.

Don Rodrigo.—His royal highness has remained much satisfied with the frankness and sincerity which

characterize the memorial you delivered to me, and he is well convinced that you do not mean to deceive him.

Count Liniers.—I am incapable of it, and D. Rodrigo, who has known me these ten years past, and does me the honour to esteem me, ought to be well persuaded thereof.

Don Rodrigo.—Your ideas on war, and its consequences, are certainly very just, and perfectly accord with the sentiments of his royal highness, who, far from wishing to foment the existing prejudices of the two nations, desires rather to destroy the growth of such baneful seeds of discord; let us, therefore, treat only of amicable connexions.

Count Liniers.—This I am desirous to do, but it belongs to your excellency to explain clearly what I am to write, being myself a mere intermediate correspondent.

Don Rodrigo.—All our prospects are reduced to this,—to ensure our commercial connexions in some stable manner, and to extend them as far as is practicable to establish the security, tranquillity, and integrity of the Portuguese possessions, and individuals in the Spanish dominions; not to manifest the least hostility, and secure the whole by a written convention; in fine, to rely on us as good neighbours and allies.

The prince, on his part, will interpose with his influence to prevent you from being disquieted by the English, where their attacks are liable to be prejudicial to our commerce.

Count Liniers.—This last article is very satisfactory and may remove many difficulties.

Don Rodrigo.—Without doubt. But in return,

should we not be allowed to garrison some fortified places with the Portuguese troops?

Count Liniers.—I have had the honour to observe to your excellency, that I am not here as an accredited minister, and much less as a plenipotentiary: but as far as regards the admitting Portuguese garrisons, in any of our places, I believe I can assure you, that this point will never be conceded.

Don Rodrigo.—Well, never mind; but at least I wish you to write on the basis I have just been explaining to you.

Count Liniers.—I will do so, and shew the copy of my letter to your excellency; but recollect what I before informed your excellency, viz. that I shall communicate to the government of Buenos Ayres the whole of what I have addressed to you, and likewise the whole of our conversations.

Don Rodrigo.—Yes, yes.

Count Liniers.—To be frank with your excellency, I fear much that the negotiator (M. Curado) who has been sent to Buenos Ayres, will there greatly injure the pacific labours we undertake here.

Don Rodrigo.—We have not sent him as a formal negotiator; it is only with you that we treat in confidence.

Count Liniers.—I will use every endeavour to make myself worthy of it.

Don Rodrigo.—The prince has given orders that any money you may require be delivered to you.

Count Liniers.—I should not require anything if I enjoyed the pay which his royal highness' orders deprive me of; my income in Buenos Ayres is two hundred dollars per month (of which your excellency

may here see the proof, my commission), but as my pay here would be that of a lieutenant-general, one half will suffice me until further orders."

When in the affairs of La Plata, some of the officers under Major-General Beresford had been assassinated by the inhabitants, General the Chevalier de Liniers, the viceroy of Buenos Ayres, to whom he had stated the affair, wrote an answer, full of kind benignant feeling, in which he says :—

" Among all the sad events that have excited my deepest regret and sorrow, since the peace of this continent has been disturbed by the visitation of war, there is none that has given me more exquisite pain than the two atrocious acts, with which you have acquainted me. Be assured, sir, that there is not an individual possessed of the common sentiments of humanity, that does not participate in the indignation I feel at enormities, of which no one could have been guilty but an abandoned wretch, inured to the perpetration of the most shocking crimes."

Official letter from Count Liniers, colonel of his Christian majesty's royal armies to the viceroy of Buenos Ayres.

" I beg to confirm to your excellency the assurance of the pacific dispositions of his royal highness the Prince-Regent of Portugal, and by the orders of this sovereign I am about to communicate to your excellency his intentions precisely in the manner they have been transmitted to me by Don Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, his minister for the war and foreign departments.

1st. His royal highness wishes to establish between

his subjects and the Spanish colonies in the Rio de la Plata, a free, open, and extended commerce, exempt from every incumbrance which might retard its progress or impede the respective speculations.

2nd. That the subjects of his royal highness residents, or trading in the same colonies, be henceforward protected from all expulsions or arbitrary sequestrations, that their persons and property be held sacred, protected, and assisted, as long as the said subjects shall not in any manner infringe on the laws of the country.

3rd. That the government of Buenos Ayres shall avoid every occasion of causing uneasiness to the Portuguese possessions, by hostile demonstrations or collections of troops on the frontiers of the two countries.

4th. That for the security of the execution of the conditions abovementioned, a convention shall be signed by the ministers of his royal highness and the chargé d' affaires of Buenos Ayres (sufficiently authorised for the purpose) which shall subsist in all its force, until the re-establishment of a general peace, an epoch in which the sovereigns of the two nations will be enabled to treat on the rights of their respective crowns.

"His royal highness on his part, and in virtue of the said convention, promises not only to abstain from every hostility on his side, but also to interpose with his powerful influence to prevent the English from attempting any attack on the Spanish colonies of Rio de la Plata, considering them henceforth as his allies, whose tranquillity becomes necessary to the welfare and prosperity of his subjects.

"I hope that these proposals may meet the approbation of the government of Buenos Ayres, and insure the felicity and tranquillity of the two nations.

"God preserve your excellency.

(Signed) "COUNT LINIERS."

Hitherto the affairs of the new government appeared to go on smoothly enough, though the warlike feeling did not exactly correspond. The following letter of Don Rodrigo of Rio de Janeiro, to Don Domingo of London, requesting the latter to apply to Mr. Canning to obtain his majesty's sanction to enable Sir Sidney to bear the arms of Portugal, quartered with his own, shews what confidence Sir Sidney had obtained over the prince-regent and his war minister.

Copy of a note from Don Rodrigo to Don Domingo A. de Souza Coutinho, in London.

"Palace of Rio de Janeiro, 6th Aug., 1808.

"His royal highness the prince-regent, our sovereign lord, being desirous to shew the estimation in which he holds the high merits, abilities, and valour of Sir Sidney Smith, rear-admiral and commander-in-chief of his Britannic majesty's naval forces in the Southern Seas: his royal highness has been pleased to grant him the honour of enabling him to bear the arms of Portugal, quartered with his own, and to bear them, as the French express it, "on shield and banner," (*en écusson et bannière,*) that he and his descendants may use them, and in default of issue, his representatives in both the male and female lines: but as the said Sir Sidney Smith cannot do this without his Britannic majesty's licence, his royal highness orders that your

excellency will request this faculty through Mr. Canning, his minister of state for foreign affairs, signifying the great pleasure and satisfaction his royal highness will receive by his Britannic majesty's being pleased to accede to this his particular desire. Your excellency will make known this minister's answer as soon as possible. His royal highness flattering himself that this just request will not meet any difficulty. God preserve your excellency.

"D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho."

In the same month, and at so short a period since his arrival, Sir Sidney was contriving his warlike preparations to reduce the refractory people in Buenos Ayres, and in the provinces of La Plata, "by the force of our combined army in this quarter, in which combination," he says, "I should hope to include the Spanish royal forces, not only in these provinces, but also from Chili and Lima, by sending the Portuguese line-of-battle ships which are useless here, round Cape Horn to those coasts under the command of the Spanish prince Don Pedro Carlos, nephew to king Charles IV. duly authorised by the princess of Brazil, that monarch's daughter, and his only direct descendant." Thus early it appears, Sir Sidney involved himself in promoting family squabbles in the political juntas of the South American provinces, and the consequence was, as he tells us, "that on these subjects, the Prince-Regent of Portugal was pleased to consult me much, during a few days passed at his royal highness' country house at Santa Cruz, desiring me to confer with the princess of Brazil, from whom, as a princess of

Spain, he would wish to receive propositions, as to what was proper to be done towards the termination of the war with his neighbours, and the security of the Spanish succession in that royal family, without any of those revolutionary and republican experiments which might extend to his states, rather than suggest any thing to her, to which, *as his wife*, she might acquiesce, without his being sure how far she might be earnest in the support of the system that might be agreed upon."

Sir Sidney discovered on reflection, that this was delicate ground to tread upon, "but a sense of the duty imposed on me by the necessity of looking to the safety of the Southern frontier, and to the growing influence of Spanish and French agents for independence in Rio de Janeiro, where negro French masters have been sent to teach the principles and practice of St. Domingo, induced me to continue these conversations with the frankness becoming my character; Lord Strangford not being at the time arrived, and Mr. Hill having no instructions, and besides not being in the habit of carrying on such conversations in the Portuguese language, to which both the prince and princess are glad to have recourse, when they wish to express themselves with precision."

Sir Sidney goes on to say, "That the departments of war and foreign affairs being in the same minister, my intercourse with his excellency is, I trust, authorised in one of his capacities if not in both; and although I am apprehensive it has given umbrage in the quarter where it is my wish, as much as it is my duty, to avoid it, and to preserve the undivided confidence of the

court in the accredited person; at the same time I trust I may be considered as acting within my sphere when I am endeavouring to produce those advantages by negotiation, *which victory could not secure.* His majesty's minister not being accredited to the Spanish government, while my situation as commander-in-chief necessarily places me in advance between these two local governments."

And as Sir Sidney here in this letter begins to lose his temper, which is very unusual with him, and recurs to the ridiculous dispute off the Tagus, as to which of the two (the ambassador and the admiral) the merit was due, of prevailing, by persuasion or otherwise, on the prince-regent to quit his country and proceed in a British fleet to Rio de Janeiro, it is best to omit the rest. A perusal of the documents clearly shews that the merit, if there was any merit in the case, was due to neither of them, the British government having had communication from London with the prince, and long before Sir Sidney had a ship off the Tagus, distinctly giving the prince-regent the choice of delivering up his fleet to British protection, or transporting himself and family to the other side of the southern Atlantic, to avoid their falling into the hands of the French, who were assembling on the borders of Portugal; and the prince, on consultation with his minister Aranjo, and the several branches of the family, decided on embarking on their own fleet, and placing themselves under the protection of England. If then the pretensions of these two disputants are grounded on such miserable claims, it may fairly be said, they are contending for something about as

valuable as one of those worthless objects in the Syntax of the Eton grammar, *flocci, nauci, nihili, pili,*—and so it was considered.

But Sir Sidney is dissatisfied, and concludes his intemperate letter by something like a threat,—"If the general confidence I enjoy here is withheld from me, I may be allowed respectfully to withdraw from so weighty, responsible, and ruinous a situation as the chief commandant afloat here, and take another line of service, till the country's interests may no longer be in danger, so that I can conscientiously retire altogether."

It was not long before Sir Sidney had intimation that another flag-officer would be sent out to join him, but not a syllable about any intention of superseding him; and accordingly, in the beginning of May, 1809, his majesty's ship Diana arrived at Rio, bearing the flag of Rear-Admiral the Honourable M. de Courcy, who had scarcely anchored, when he received the following letter from his majesty's ambassador at the court of Rio de Janeiro:—

LORD STRANGFORD TO THE HONOURABLE M. DE COURCY.

"Rio de Janeiro, May 12, 1809.

"SIR,

"I have been officially called upon to procure the execution of the arrangement which I announced to this court several days ago, as well in his majesty's name, as by his majesty's command.

"It is earnestly desired by this court that you should assume the command of his majesty's squadron upon this station. It was supposed (in consequence of the assurances which I was authorised to give to that

effect), that on your arrival at Rio de Janeiro, the command of the squadron would immediately have devolved upon you; and that an application of this nature would have been altogether unnecessary.

"It is not my design to interfere in any manner with the rules of his majesty's naval service. But it is absolutely my duty to state to you the just expectations which have been formed by the Portuguese government, and thus to secure the attainments of the objects which his majesty had most undoubtedly in view, when you were commanded to proceed to this station.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "STRANGFORD."

His lordship disclaims interference with the rules of his majesty's naval service, but, at the same time, interferes with the invariable rule which governs the assumption of naval command. Had Admiral de Courcy been imprudent enough to *assume the command*, Sir Sidney would only have done his duty by bringing him before a court-martial. This interference is greatly to be lamented as it tended to widen the unfortunate breach between the ambassador and the commander-in-chief. At the same time, the newly arrived rear-admiral received the following note:—

"His majesty's envoy presents his compliments to Rear-Admiral de Courcy, and has the honour to inform him that his royal highness the prince-regent has signified, that his royal highness will receive Admiral

de Courcy at court to-morrow in the usual form as commander-in-chief of his majesty's naval forces upon this station. His majesty's envoy has also been directed to notify to Admiral de Courcy, that he has received permission to present the admiral and such of his officers as may desire that honour, to her royal highness the Princess of Portugal, and to the other members of the royal family to whom Admiral de Courcy has not yet been introduced. And for this purpose it is the intention of his majesty's envoy to profit by the opportunity which will be afforded to-morrow, by the public levee held at the palace in honour of the birthday of his royal highness the prince-regent.

"The prince-regent has also been graciously pleased to mention to his majesty's envoy in the most obliging and condescending manner, that as a general review of his royal highness's troops is to take place to-morrow, in the great square opposite to the palace, it might perhaps be agreeable to Admiral de Courcy and to his officers, to be present at that spectacle; and that his royal highness hoped that they would come on shore for the purpose of commodiously viewing it from the windows of the palace.

"His majesty's envoy, therefore, takes the liberty of proposing to Admiral de Courcy to meet him at the palace to-morrow morning at half-past eleven o'clock, the review being to commence about that time."

To this note and the letter Admiral de Courcy very properly replies, "that his royal highness's desire to receive him at court, as commander-in-chief of his majesty's naval forces, has been graciously received; and that as the objects therein mentioned could only

be brought into effect with the concurrence of Rear-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, K.S., (my senior on his majesty's list of rear-admirals,) I took opportunity of laying your lordship's representations before that officer, and have now the honour of enclosing a copy of his reply." It may be observed, that this second interference is just as irregular as the first.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE HON. M. DE COURCY.

"H. M. S. Foudroyant, Rio de Janeiro, May 13, 1809.

SIR,

"In answer to your letter of yesterday's date, enclosing one and a note from his majesty's envoy of the same date, which you have very properly laid before me, with your request that I will instruct you how you shall act upon, and reply to, them; and these letters containing requisitions to you, that I do not think it proper that you should comply with, in the exact manner therein pointed out, as being contrary to the rules of his majesty's naval service; and as his majesty's envoy expresses himself as not having the design to interfere in any manner therewith, it will, I hope, be sufficient for you to explain to him, that the commission you bear from the Lords Commissioners of the Admiralty directs you to obey all orders that you may receive from a superior officer; that I am such superior, that I have given orders by signal, which I hereby repeat, for all persons belonging to the fleet to repair on board their respective ships immediately, and that no boats are to be sent on shore after this signal has been made, without leave from the admiral, which you cannot disobey; consequently that you cannot meet

him at the appointed time and place without my leave which you have not obtained.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

By the following extract of a dispatch from Viscount Strangford to Mr. Secretary Canning, dated Rio de Janeiro, May 16th, 1809, it would appear that his lordship had recourse to his own head-quarters, where he was likely to be heard and attended to, and there is reason to think that he was so.

"Sir Sidney Smith still avails himself of his professional seniority to retain the chief command of his majesty's naval forces upon this station, and he has not hitherto manifested any inclination to relinquish that authority.

"On the 12th inst. (the day preceding the anniversary of the prince-regent's birth-day) I received from Condé de Linhares a note, of which a copy is enclosed herewith, together with an intimation from the prince-regent, conveyed to me by General Montaury, the commander-in-chief of the Portuguese forces in this district, that, on the following morning a review of several regiments would take place, and that it was his royal highness's wish that I should invite Admiral de Courcy and his officers to come on shore to view it from the windows of the palace. His royal highness did me the honour personally to make similar communications to me in the course of that day; and accordingly, I wrote to Admiral de Courcy a letter and note, of which copies are enclosed.

"On the following day the prince-regent was grieved and mortified to find that Admiral de Courcy did not appear at the palace at the appointed time. But the astonishment of his royal highness exceeded all bounds when he was informed, in the very words of Sir Sidney Smith, that he (Sir Sidney Smith) 'had not judged proper to give permission to Admiral de Courcy to leave his ship.' (There are no such words in Sir Sidney's letter.)

"It is true that Admiral de Courcy did afterwards attend at the palace to pay his respects to his royal highness the prince-regent, but not until the end of the spectacle to which his royal higness had invited him, but which he was prevented from witnessing by this exercise of Sir Sidney Smith's authority as a senior officer.

"I have the honour to enclose herewith a copy of the letter which I received from Admiral de Courcy, explaining to me the cause of his apparent inattention to the commands of the prince-regent, and transmitting to me the letter addressed to him by Sir Sidney Smith, (of which a copy is also enclosed,) which had deterred him from accepting his royal highness's invitation.

"I have likewise the honour to annex a copy of a letter which I have written to Admiral de Courcy, by desire of the prince-regent, expressive of the feelings with which his royal highness the prince-regent has regarded the conduct of Sir Sidney Smith in this very singular affair."

Mr. Canning's reply to this communication does not appear; but it was made to the admiralty on the 25th of July, 1809: and though Sir Sidney had

instructions from the admiralty to turn over the command to Admiral de Courcy, when he struck his flag, he never received that reply, at least at Rio de Janeiro, for his first instructions to the rear-admiral are dated the 24th of May, 1809. These instructions were drawn up on board the Diana, the two admirals having exchanged ships. They are very peculiar in their nature, unfitted for a public instruction, unusual, and, to say the least of them, imprudent, and contrary to all that had ever emanated from Sir Sidney; they are, besides, conceived in a spirit of ill-nature, and tend evidently to place an insuperable barrier against any chance of future reconciliation between the ambassador and the admiral; but if such unfortunately happened, Sir Sidney, it must be admitted, bears at least the onus of having cast the *last* stone.

Instructions from Sir Sidney Smith to Rear-Admiral de Courcy.

"His Majesty's ship Diana,
Rio Janeiro, 24th May, 1809.

"SIR,

"IN obedience to the orders of the lords commissioners of the admiralty, I have given you copies of my instructions and of all standing and unexecuted orders, with directions to carry the same into effect. You are already left at liberty to proceed in the execution of any orders you have received from the lords commissioners of the admiralty, and I have no further orders or directions to give you; I feel it however my duty to recommend to you to keep in mind the vulnerability of this

important point on the extensive coast, the charge of which devolves on you, and the defenceless state of the landing-places in the bays to the northward, eastward, and westward of this entrance, particularly the latter, also the exposed situation of Bahia, which is well-known to the French government, Jerome Bonaparte having examined it. It appears to me unlikely that, at this season, any French armament should go to the southward of St. Catherine's, a place described in Perouse's voyage, which is likely to be consulted by a French naval officer as a guide. Captain Lee of his majesty's ship Monarch, has assured me, that no anchorage in the River Plate, Maldonado not excepted, is safe after March, during the winter of this hemisphere, consequently a station off that river cannot be kept at this season, with line-of-battle ships, near enough to prevent the approach of the enemy's small vessels adapted to that navigation, which I think it my duty to my country and to you, as a responsible officer, to state thus distinctly on the experience of Captain Lee, at the same time desiring it to be understood, I have no local experience thereof myself. Buenos Ayres and Monte Video have long been in a state of opposition, bordering on actual hostility, their mutual animosity has been increased lately by the circumstance of Monte Video having fitted out an armed vessel and brought back the exiled deputies of the cabildo of Buenos Ayres, who are now within the walls of the former; these persons, being the heads of a considerable party in Buenos Ayres, hostile to the viceroy Chevalier Liniers cannot fail to augment the jealousy, manifested by the viceroy, of his majesty's ships having any inter-

course with Monte Video, which he requires to be considered as in a state of blockade, on account of the rebellion which he states to exist against his paramount authority. The governor of Monte Video, General Elio, holds that authority as president of a self-created junta, formed after the model and according to the orders of that of Seville, refusing to acknowledge that of Don Ruis Shudobro, who claimed restoration to that office which he formerly filled under Charles IV. in virtue of powers received from the junta of Gallicia, in the name of Ferdinand VII.

Governor Elio is an old Spaniard, thoroughly attached to the cause of the mother-country, quite antigallican in his own opinions and actions, and states the ground of this variance with the viceroy to be his conviction of a contrary disposition in his excellency. It is neither your province nor mine to judge between them; all my attempts at mediation towards restoring harmony have been fruitless, and nothing but the repugnance of the brigadier-general Valesco (who was appointed to march against Monte Video) to the execution of a hostile measure, in which repugnance he was encouraged by the Princess of Brazil, has prevented bloodshed between the respective troops. Both parties appeal to her royal highness, as the person to whom they may have ultimately to look as their sovereign, and as the person most interested in the preservation of the Spanish monarchy, her royal highness having shewn herself to be watchful of the interests of her brother Ferdinand VII. on this continent.

"The party working for the independence of the

colonies from the mother-country have used her royal highness' name for the furtherance of their views without her knowledge or consent. The actual conquest of the European territory of Spain by France may occasion such a separation, but as long as the Spanish monarchy exists in Europe, I have been instructed by his majesty's secretary of state to maintain the integrity of the whole, and in this I have hitherto succeeded as appears by the answers I have received from the viceroys of Lima and Buenos Ayres, and the presidency of Chili, which have all acknowledged Ferdinand VII. and proclaimed themselves as making common cause with England in the war with France. I am not ordered to transfer the secretary of state's instructions to me, on this head, to you as my successor in the naval command on this station. I am directed by him to remove any impression, that might prevail, of his majesty's government acting on a different system from what it professes in Europe, and is determined to act upon with respect to the Spanish monarchy in all parts of the world, which is the precise same system on which, as I have above said, her royal highness has acted upon.

I am closing my correspondence with the local authorities in Spanish South America on this basis. The Cheerly brig will carry my flag-lieutenant, who is personally known to the viceroy Liniers, as bearer of this closing correspondence, but without any political mission whatever, in any other respect: he will not go near Governor Elio at Monte Video, without the express permission of the viceroy Liniers. The lieutenant commanding the Cheerly, which vessel came

out with the secretary of state's despatches to me, and with directions to return to England, will have my orders so to do, conveying the answer of the viceroy Liniers for the information of his majesty's government, which I particularly desire you will allow to take place. I enclose the translation of a letter from the viceroy, by which you will observe his excellency's predilections for Lieutenant Killurick, commanding his majesty's brig Nancy, a vessel peculiarly adapted for the navigation of the River Plate, and which I have placed under your command as part of the squadron. Lieutenant Stow, commanding the Steady, is likewise on good terms with the viceroy. I expect him daily here with the promised information of the trade of the River Plate being opened to British merchant ships, which I mention in order that you may leave your orders for that officer's further proceedings. I enclose also a translation of the viceroy Linier's last letter to me, on his political situation, which will shew you the nature of the correspondence we have maintained towards the preservation of the harmony so happily subsisting, and which I am persuaded will be cultivated with equal success by you.

"Having now communicated everything which occurs to me as useful for your guidance, it remains for me only to express my readiness to give you any explanation you may require, on any point where I may not have been sufficiently explicit, my sole and earnest wish being, that success may crown your endeavours for the public service, in which I trust and hope you will have less trouble than I have had.

In making over a copy of instructions, under which

you are to act, containing an injunction grounded on the admitted necessity, that the person accredited by his majesty to the prince-regent should obtain the undivided confidence of that sovereign, I cannot refrain from remarking to you, the impossibility of that ever taking effect, where that confidence has been impaired by the mistatements of the individual so accredited; confidence cannot be commanded, and it cannot be in the power of the British admiral to aid him, in obtaining what has been sacrificed to the objects of impairing the degree of confidence, which his royal highness has been pleased to place in an officer of that rank, at whose discretion, as to destination, he placed his person, royal family, fleet, and treasure, without waiting for any other guarantee than the honour of the individual, and towards whom his royal highness has often expressed gratitude for the mode in which that discretion was exercised, manifesting his entire confidence on various occasions since, and which he has expressed himself to be sensible has never been abused.

"It would be necessary, for the attainment of the above desideratum, that his royal highness should be able to obliterate from his memory the real motives and facts, relative to and connected with his emigration from Lisbon, and then to admit the truth of the record, as it appeared in the 'Gazette' of December, 1807, which his royal highness has denied in conversation with me, and many other respectable persons. If intercourse with all such persons, who might be able to undeceive him, and enlighten a mind thirsting after knowledge and truth, opportunities for attaining which were denied in early life,

would have been precluded, as was and is attempted, this accredited person might have obtained an exclusive influence, such as he is endeavouring in vain to exercise on less general principles; but as long as his royal highness shall prefer frankness, candour, and benevolence, as he does, to the opposite qualities in mankind, he will seek general intercourse, in the hope of finding them; and on this ground it is that I earnestly solicit you, sir, not to allow yourself to be excluded, or allow those officers to be so, of sufficient rank to be admitted to the confidential intercourse. His royal highness has repeatedly told me, he wishes to cultivate the British navy, and to be excluded from such intercourse with the person, exercising the sovereign authority here, who is deserving of every respectful attention from us collectively and individually; and by these means his royal highness will preserve and cultivate the predilection for the British character, which he professes and evidently feels.

"Before concluding I feel it incumbent upon me, in my public duty, to warn you officially and distinctly, that I have not found his majesty's minister plenipotentiary to act frankly and cordially with me, as the admiral on this station, and that my experience does not warrant my giving you any ground for expectation, that he will do so with you, or for placing any confidence in the uniformity of any system on which he may be apparently acting with you, in his occasional vague and rare communications with a British admiral, whom he arrogantly manifests himself to consider, as a subordinate officer under his command, even in a sphere beyond the limits of his accreditation, not ad-

mitting, that where responsibility is placed, a power of acting according to instructions must necessarily reside in the same person.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The Diana arrived at Spithead on the 9th of August, and Sir Sidney hastened to Cleveland-row to see what Mr. Canning had to explain to him regarding the complaint of the ambassador; and shortly after he received a letter, of which the following is a copy :—

MR. CANNING TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

Gloucester Lodge, July 21, 1810.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Since I had the pleasure of seeing you in Cleveland-row, I have found an opportunity of stating to Lord Wellesley the impression made upon my mind by the communications which I received from you, at that and at our former interview (immediately after your return home), on the subject of your conduct in the Brazils.

"I thought it due to you, to declare to Lord Wellesley that when I advised your recall, I acted (in great part) from the persuasion that you had arrogated to yourself, in your transactions respecting Spanish America, an authority not derived from any instructions from any part of his majesty's government; but that, however I had been led into that persuasion, I could not hesitate to acknowledge that it was completely removed by the secret despatch

addressed to you from the war department on the 5th of August, 1808, which you communicated to me in our first interview (I think in September), and of which, till I received that communication from you, I had no knowledge whatever. So far, I had only to repeat to Lord Wellesley what I had (as you know) stated to his majesty in your exculpation, on the day on which I resigned the seals.

"But there still appeared one part of your conduct, and that which (I confess) appeared to me the most extraordinary and reprehensible, I mean your withholding the instructions under which you acted from the king's minister at Rio de Janeiro, of which I had never received any explanation until our last interview.

"I then learnt, for the first time, that Mr. B., the gentleman who was the bearer of the secret despatch, was authorised (or professed to be authorised) expressly to caution you *not* to communicate that despatch, nor any of the circumstances connected with his mission, to Lord Strangford.

"This also I have stated to Lord Wellesley, being, as I think it, essential to your exculpation. I am particularly anxious that, in a matter of such delicacy, my desire to do you justice should not have led me beyond the exact truth; and I must therefore request you to have the goodness to let me know that, in respect to this part of your communication to me, I understood and consequently have represented you correctly.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "GEO. CANNING."

Sir Sidney Smith's answer to the foregoing letter, is dated, Keddlestone Hall, July 26, 1810.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO MR. CANNING.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I have great pleasure in acknowledging your letter of the 21st instant, franked the 23rd, conveying to me your very liberal and candid statement to Lord Wellesley, of the impression made on your mind by my communications to you since my return from the Brazils, on the subject of my conduct there; and desiring to know whether you had represented me correctly respecting the interdiction placed on me by the bearer of the secret despatch of August 5th, by the caution not to communicate any of the circumstances of his mission to Lord Strangford.

"This fact, which I communicated verbally to you, and which you have correctly represented to Lord Wellesley, I have no hesitation in thus repeating in writing, with the assurance that he made a point of this reserve with regard to his lordship *personally* in his first communication with me on the subject, and in such a manner as to leave me no discretion thereon, speaking, as he did, in the name of the authority which sent him.

"I might confine my answer to this simple fact in exculpation of myself after your distinct and frank admission of it on this ground, if I thought of myself alone; and I might leave my case to your candour and liberality, my confidence in which, under the conviction of my correctness, has induced me to wait thus patiently for justice at your hands as a voluntary act, when the

whole truth should be known to you, rather than press you on the subject, or appeal formally otherwise than to yourself, from the decision you made against me on the ex-parte statement of Lord Strangford, and the prince-regent's premature expressions of momentary disapprobation, not being aware of their real character and motives; but, a regard for truth and the good of the king's service, render me apprehensive lest an error should subsist in your mind as to the origin of this caution, on a supposition that it had reference to the *official situation* of Lord Strangford; whereas the person communicating it to me expressly stated, that it originated with himself, as the condition *sine quâ non* of his undertaking such a delicate commission, and regarded Lord Strangford personally; his own experience of his lordship's conduct towards himself in Portugal rendering any connexion with him in such affairs repugnant to his feelings, and occasioning an apprehension for his safety, which made him anxious not to expose himself to such risks again. A sentiment which has been painfully awakened in me, and which I have found to be general among all who have had occasion to transact business of a delicate nature with Lord Strangford; at all events, the caution was imperative on me, as the despatch referred me distinctly to the discretion of the bearer.

"Ever, my dear sir,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Copy of a letter from Mr. Canning to Sir Sidney Smith, dated Hinckley, August 2, 1810:—

MR. CANNING TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"My dear Sir,

"I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 26th, the day before I left town. I should have only to acknowledge the receipt of it, were it not that I think I perceive you to have understood some part of my former letter in rather a wider sense than I intended to convey.

"I acquit you most completely of the specific charge of 'having arrogated to yourself an authority not derived from any instructions.' The secret despatch is, in my mind, entirely conclusive upon this point. But, as the authority given to you by that despatch was *discretionary*, I may, without the smallest disrespect or unkindness towards you, beg not to be understood to have said that I approve of the manner in which the *discretion*, thereby confided to you, was exercised.

"My opinion upon this subject is now worth very little one way or other. But it would not be candid to allow you to imagine that I had intended to express it to you otherwise, than such as it really is.

"It is a great satisfaction to me to find that I had understood and represented correctly what you stated to me in our last interview of the positive injunction, which was sent to you through Mr. B., to keep the secret despatch and all the circumstances of Mr. B.'s mission concealed from Lord Strangford.

"What you add to your written confirmation of this statement, respecting the *motives* in which the prohibition to communicate with Lord Strangford ori-

ginated, does not appear to me at all material to the case, so far as you are concerned.

"The charge against you was that you had withholden from the knowledge of the king's minister at Rio de Janeiro the instructions under which you acted. Your answer to that charge is that you were positively directed to do so. This defence is perfect and satisfactory. For the propriety of the restriction you are not responsible.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "GEO. CANNING."

It was very generally supposed that Sir Sidney had been removed from his command in consequence of his adherence to the politics of the Princess-Regent of the Brazils, in opposition to those of the Prince-Regent, the one being Spanish the other Portuguese. The one was as desirous of acquiring the Spanish provinces in the La Plata, as the other, and the prince requested Sir Sidney to suggest to his wife his ideas on the subject. But his majesty's government, it was said, disapproved of his interference with politics, and particularly with those of the Princess of the Brazils.

On Sidney's departure, the princess gave him a letter addressed by her to the president and members of the central junta of government of Spain, in the absence of the king, Don Ferdinand VII., of which the following is a translation.

Rio de Janeiro, June 9, 1809.

"This letter will be presented to you by Sir Sidney Smith, rear-admiral of his Britannic Majesty's navy, who, during his residence at this court, has been inde-

fatigable in the zeal and vigilance with which he has attended to the secure possession of the dominions of my dearest brother Ferdinand, and the interests of our beloved Spanish nation.

"He has done every thing on his part to conciliate the viceroy, Liniers, and Governor Elio, whose differences and disturbances arisen between the people of Buenos Ayres and Monte Video, I communicated to you on the 8th November and 30th December last. He has aided me by his counsels and by his protection, and has done his utmost to prevent the evils which might have befallen the people and dominions of America, of the state of which he can inform you, with the truth and precision which belongs to his character and laborious talents. In short, the conduct which Sir Sidney Smith has observed under the critical circumstances, in which the Spanish monarchy is placed, has rendered him worthy of my esteem, and worthy likewise of the gratitude of every good subject of my beloved brother Ferdinand.

"It is under this honourable impression, that it has appeared to me just to present him to your consideration, that you may attend to his merits, and shew him the honour he is entitled to from the great services by means of which he has sought our good and happiness.

"God preserve you, as is the wish of your Infanta,

"CARLOTA JOAQUINA DE BOURBON."

No doubt, however, need remain after the perusal of Mr. Canning's letters, which have been inserted, that Spanish politics as adopted by the infanta, bore but a small portion of the cause of Sir Sidney Smith's re-

moval, and for the rest, the most important part, after receiving the admiral's account of the transaction, and its confirmation, what does Mr. Canning say? "This defence is perfect and satisfactory."

The private letter here given from the first lord of the admiralty must have been highly acceptable to Sir Sidney.

LORD MULGRAVE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Admiralty, August 1, 1808.

"DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"I avail myself of the sudden departure of an advice vessel, to write a few lines to congratulate you on the important events which have taken place in Spain. I know how earnestly and anxiously you will enter into the interest which such a state of affairs is calculated to create, and I am very happy in thinking that your vigilance and activity will be employed to prevent the success of any effort that Buonaparte may make in the Brazils or Buenos Ayres. I have not now time to enter into detail; the feeling in Spain is unanimous, animated, and active, in the highest degree, much may be expected from an insulted, irritated, and armed nation; every support and assistance which this country can supply has been afforded, or is on its way. Spain is convinced of our cordial and disinterested attachment, and that England has no separate objects or distinct interests to pursue. The events of war are always precarious, but the present crisis affords a more flattering prospect than any state of affairs since the commencement of Buonaparte's career of success. This loyalty and exertions of the Portuguese nation, is in equal activity with that of Spain, and is in no respects

inferior in energy and unanimity. There is every reason to expect that we shall see that nation delivered without delay from the yoke of France; our first military efforts are directed to the kingdom of our ancient and faithful ally. The unhappy situation of the royal family of Spain (now in the hands of Buonaparte) is the strongest proof (if proof were necessary) of the wisdom of the great and important determination which carried the house of Braganza to the Brazilian empire. I have not, however, time to dwell on this most prolific subject.

"General Smith stated himself to be very well when I last heard from him; the substance of his letter was calculated to confirm that statement, but his writing was not that of a steady hand.

"I remain yours, &c.

"MULGRAVE."

The following address was presented to Sir Sidney Smith, by the committee of merchants trading to the Brazils:—

"The committee of the merchants of London, trading to, and who have been established in, Brazil, beg leave to congratulate Sir William Sidney Smith on his safe arrival in England, from his command on the coast of that country.

"Impressed with the lively sense of the essential services rendered by him to the commercial and shipping interests of the united kingdom in general, and more particularly to those immediately concerned in the Brazil trade; of the protection he has so eminently and uniformly afforded them; and of the judgment

with which his conduct has been regulated upon all occasions in which the interests of their correspondents and connexions have required his interference: this committee consider it to be their duty to return Sir Sidney their most grateful thanks, which they request him to accept, accompanied with their warmest wishes for his health and prosperity."

ANSWER OF SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Royal Hotel, Pall Mall, September 4, 1809.

"SIR,

"Mr. Buckle, secretary to the committee of British merchants trading to the Brazils, having this day put into my hands your letter, containing an extract of the proceedings of that respectable body on the 17th ult., together with the very flattering proof of my earnest endeavours to promote the commercial interests of our country, having been favourably considered by them; I lose no time in requesting you to convey to them my best thanks for this distinguished mark of their approbation. I assure you and them that nothing could be more gratifying to me than this unanimous address from so respectable a body of my countrymen, to whose service in general my whole attention and care have ever been and ever will be devoted. A sense of duty induced me to labour for the extension and security of the commerce of my country. All other modes of serving it being denied me by the circumstances of my situation, my first care was to cement the friendship of our allies, the Portuguese; my next was to extinguish the enmity of our opponents in the Spanish part of that vast continent, and to shew the latter that the en-

lightened views of the British government and nation in Europe, with regard to Spain, entitled us to the confidence of her colonies, with which I succeeded in opening, and have since maintained, a degree of amicable intercourse which cannot fail to cement the bonds of friendship, and augment the resources of both states towards enabling them to bear the expenses of the war, on the success of which depends their safety, and even their existence. If in pursuing these great objects I have collaterally been enabled to further the interests of the British trade in general, I am sincerely rejoiced; and the proof you have kindly given me of my endeavours having been crowned with success, is (next to the approbation of those to whom I am responsible, and which I am happy to find not to be denied me) the most gratifying circumstance that could occur, and amply balances the painful struggles I have sometimes had against prejudice and egotism.

"I beg leave, sir, to thank you personally for the very obliging manner in which you have conveyed this unexpected and most flattering address. I cannot, however, in accepting it, omit to acknowledge the labours and merits of his majesty's consul-general (Sir James Gambier), with whom I acted most cordially in all things where the interests of the merchants trading to the Brazils were concerned.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. Sidney Smith."

CHAPTER IX.

CAPTURE OF CAYENNE.

CAPTAIN SIR JAMES YEO SENT IN THE CONFIANCE BY SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE NORTHWARD.—CALLS AT PARA.—CONCERTS WITH THE PORTUGUESE GOVERNOR A PLAN OF CO-OPERATION FOR AN ATTACK ON THE FRENCH SETTLEMENT OF CAYENNE.—AFTER A SMART ACTION, SURRENDERS ON CAPITULATION.—THE CAPTORS DEFRAUDED BY THE FRENCH SOVEREIGN, AND THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT, OF THE PRIZE-MONEY LEGALLY DUE.—CORRESPONDENCE OF NINETEEN YEARS UNAVAILING, AND NO REDRESS EVER OBTAINED.

1809.

Sir Sidney Smith, as commander-in-chief of the naval forces employed on the coast of South America, anxiously active to obtain a full knowledge of every thing relating to the subject of his command, sent one of his cruizers down the south coast as far as the Rio de la Plata, and the Confiance commanded by Sir James Yeo, to the northward, with instructions, among other matters, to make particular inquiries, and gain every information, respecting any proceedings of the French, whether by sea or land, and if encountered to act against them, in any manner that their small force would with safety warrant.

On the 21st October we find Captain Yeo at Para, where he was most cordially and hospitably received by the Portuguese governor, the possessor of a name of prodigious

length, His Excellency General Illustrissimo Excellentissimo Senhor Jose Nareizode Magalhaens Menezes, Governor and Captain General of Para.

It was soon determined that a combined expedition should be set on foot against the neighbouring French island of Cayenne, towards which the general agreed to contribute two ships of war, one schooner, and two cutters, and six hundred troops of the line, with a competent train of artillery, the whole naval force to be under the orders of Yeo. A noted (we may perhaps call him notorious) person, Victor Hugues, was governor of Cayenne, who dwelt in a splendid house, which was at the same time his fortress. After some smart skirmishes, and a show of reluctance on the part of the governor of the colony, a capitulation was acceded to, on the following requisition, of the "commandant-en-chef et commissaire de l'Empereur et Roi" (Victor Hugues).

"That the advanced posts being carried by force, and the commandant being reduced with his garrison to the chief place, he owes it to sentiments of honour which have ever distinguished him, to the valour and good conduct of the officers and soldiers under his orders, to the attachment of the inhabitants of the colony for his majesty the emperor and king, he owes it to declare boldly, that he submits, less to force than to the destructive system of setting free all the slaves, who would arrange themselves on the side of the enemy, and set fire to all the habitations and posts, where there should be found resistance.

"That the commissaire de l'empereur, after having witnessed the burning of many habitations, especially

of his own, the most considerable in the colony, would only have ascribed it at first to the events of the war; but the disorganization of the working classes, and the enfranchisement of the slaves had only appeared to him as being one of his momentous measures, but being assured in writing that the English and Portuguese officers were acting in virtue of orders of his royal highness the prince-regent.

"Willing, therefore, to save the colony from total destruction, and to preserve to his august master the subjects who have given to him such proofs of attachment and fidelity, the commissary of his imperial and royal master resigns the colony to the forces of his royal highness the prince-regent, on the following conditions:—"

Then follow sixteen articles of the common and unobjectionable kind, in one of which, concerning a valuable and splendid estate, is the following provision:—

"Art. 14. Desirous of preserving the habitation of spiceries, called La Gabrielle, in all its splendour, and in all its agriculture, it is, therefore, stipulated that it shall not be destroyed, nor any of its buildings, nor any of the plantations, trees, or plants, but that it shall be preserved in the actual condition in which it is placed in the hands of the commanders of his highness the prince-regent.

(Signed) "Victor Hugues.
"James Lucas Yeo.
"Manuel Maques."

The owner of it was mysteriously kept in the back-

ground, but it was privately communicated to the captor to be King Louis XVIII., then an emigrant at Hartwell. The value of the spices in store, cloves, nutmegs, pepper, &c., was something very great, and all made up in a state to be shipped; and though it was fairly considered as booty, the chivalrous feelings of such noble minds as those of the captors, instead of appropriating to themselves the rich booty, to which they were entitled as prize, generously left it in possession of the proprietor's agent, acquainting him that the Englishman's share would be submitted to its royal proprietor. The Portuguese, being neighbours, were fully compensated for all their trouble and expenses. Their share, after all deductions that could be made from the accredited estimate, amounted to 107,251*l.*, that of the English to 74,523*l.*; the latter of which, by further reductions on the part of Louis XVIII., was dwindled down to 250,000 *francs*, which, at tenpence per franc, amounts to no more than 10,916*l.*, and even this, after a correspondence running over nineteen years, was not liquidated, and I believe never has been to this day.

It is now above thirty years since application was made at home, first to the Count de Châtre, *chargé d'affaires* of Louis XVIII., while in exile, to no effect; then after his restoration; and subsequently to the French government; but nothing I believe has been done to the present day, when every claimant is dead except the orphan sisters of the gallant Sir James Yeo, whose death from wounds, and a broken-down constitution, got by severe service, deprived the navy, at an immature age, of as brave a man, and as good an officer as ever

drew a sword in his country's cause. Sir Sidney Smith, on his arrival in England, warmly took up the case; but he had vexations enough of his own to contend against. We have seen how completely he set himself right in the eyes of Mr. Canning. He had now to meet another unfounded insinuation addressed to the same quarter, implying that he, Sir Sidney, had no share in the expedition to Cayenne; but that the whole and sole merit of the plan was due to Sir James Yeo, who might be too modest to claim it; nay, which might be probably *suppressed* in any report of the affair. The following is the letter alluded to:—

LORD STRANGFORD TO MR. CANNING.

"Rio de Janeiro, June 7, 1809.

"SIR,

"On the 27th ult. his majesty's ship the Confiance arrived here. with intelligence of the surrender of Cayenne to the combined British and combined forces.

"It is certain that the success of this achievement has been principally owing to the valour and conduct of Captain Yeo, and of the British officers and seamen under his command. And it is but justice to Captain Yeo to mention another circumstance, which will very probably be *suppressed* in any details of the affair which that officer may transmit to his majesty's government. It is not only the actual success of the enterprise against Cayenne which is due to Captain Yeo: the original plan of the expedition was solely conceived by himself; and even the Portuguese governor of Para does not hesitate to declare frankly that the entire

merit of the design is to be attributed to Captain Yeo.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "STRANGFORD."

Lord Strangford will feel that this remark, if it regarded Sir Sidney Smith—and it could only regard him—was somewhat uncalled for, as he will see by perusing the following extract of a letter from the admiral to Lord Stuart de Rothesay :—

"No. 72, Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury,
January 6, 1829.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"On my return to town, after having paid a visit of consolation to the sisters of my gallant subordinate supporter, Sir James Yeo, and having put them in the way of restoring the Portuguese order of St. Bento d'Avis to the Queen at Laleham—an ancient order, which the king, (our sovereign) and himself alone, amongst all the English that aided Portugal in her conflict with France, received—I anxiously hope, for their sakes, and for the honour of the country, that the only surviving orphan relatives of such a zealous, enterprising, laborious, daring, yet discreet public officer, may see, ere long, an end to the state of insulation and cramped finance they have too long endured at Hampton Court Palace. The hard earnings of his Cayenne service (unequalled in the annals of our navy, except *by his own* similar audacious deed of arms at *Muros*) have been withheld for nineteen years, while the liberal feeling of our government towards the emigrant exiled

monarch at Hartwell (in which we all participated) contributed to his comforts at the expense of those of public servants, under a guarantee of a 'just equivalent,' which the offered sum of 250,000 francs does not realise, being but a fifth part of the interest of the principal sum withheld!!! I cannot trust my pen to dwell on the Cayenne injustice, but will revert to another point of Sir James Yeo's services under my orders."

The admiral's arrival would also have given him the opportunity of explaining to Mr. Canning a charge made against him, which it seems, from his letter here inserted, was not only not true, but was one of the principal causes for his premature removal from the chief command of the Brazil squadron.

The following is the letter:

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE HON. W. WELLESLEY POLE.

"Diana, Spithead, August 9, 1809.

"SIR,

"I beg leave to announce my arrival at Spithead, in his majesty's ship Diana, having sailed from Rio de Janeiro, in obedience to their lordships' orders, on the 21st of June last.

"Rear-Admiral de Courcy sailed on the 26th of May, to put in execution the orders of their lordships brought by the Elizabeth.

"I request permission to wait on their lordships, with as little delay as possible, when I shall have the honour of acquainting them with the occasion of my detention some weeks longer than I wished and in-

tended; and informing them of the state and resources of Rio de Janeiro, now no longer menaced by the enemy's squadron, which it was apprehended might be bound thither, in consequence of letters from Lisbon, stating the sailing of the French fleet from Brest, and the appearance of ours, off that port (Lisbon), in quest of them, but without success.

"After having acquitted myself of this duty to their lordships, I hope I may be allowed to attend to my private affairs on shore, which the death of a near relative renders necessary.

"Having at length obtained a declaration of war against Napoleon and his adherents, to be formally promulgated at *Lima*, as well as the acknowledgment of a state of peace with Great Britain, to which that government (secretly attached to Godoy) at first confined itself, and this completing the object I had at heart in South America, I should at all events have requested their lordships' permission to retire from that quarter, for the above purpose.

"Their orders for my return were consequently particularly gratifying to me, except as to the motive assigned for that decision; on which subject I feel I owe it to myself to assure their lordships that I am perfectly unconscious of having done anything to offend the prince-regent, and that I have in vain endeavoured to procure the specification of any ground for such an idea. His royal highness has constantly professed the greatest gratitude to me personally, and marked the utmost confidence and the most cordial regard for me, encouraging the same sentiments in his royal family and household, and in his army and navy, during the

whole time of my stay at his court and capital, with the most unequivocal proofs of its continuance to the last moment of my departure, which his royal highness repeatedly declared to me to be '*a subject of deep and heartfelt regret to him.*'

"I think it right to record this fact, on which I appeal to the testimony of any and every person there, not doubting but that all, except those who have motives to conceal or pervert the truth, will corroborate this my assertion, which I am desirous should remain in your office, in contrast with the basis of the order their lordships found themselves obliged to give for my recall, originating in a contrary impression.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The long correspondence which took place at home regarding the claims of the captors for prize-money extended over a period of nineteen years, and came to nothing at last. A very small selection of the letters will suffice to shew the shabby conduct, not to say the gross injustice, of a Bourbon sovereign, and of the French government; the one handing the island and claims on it over to the other, and neither of them disposed to discharge the just demands upon the property. Copies of the letters that passed will set the transaction in its proper point of view.—

HABITATION GABRIELLE and its dependencies.

COUNT DE LA CHATRE TO WILLIAM HAMILTON, ESQ.

"London, May 13, 1812.

"The captors of the French colony of Cayenne have presented their claims to the Portuguese government, respecting their shares in the capture of the Habitation Gabrielle and its dependencies, as public property. The Count de la Châtre, in the name of his most Christian majesty Louis XVIII., has claimed the aforesaid Habitation as private and patrimonial property belonging to his majesty Louis XVI. The government, it seems, has acknowledged the legitimacy of the assertion.

"It is now to be considered what will be the lot of the captors, in two hypotheses. First, if the Habitation Gabrielle was declared public property, this judgment would at first sight appear in favour of the captors, and should of course establish the right of their claims to their shares in the capture.

"In the contrary assertion, the Habitation being declared private property, *and such* delivered in the hands of his most Christian majesty, the pretensions of the captors would be rejected, and they would become losers by the decision.

"But considering the transaction in a fair and true prospect, it appears that the property of the Habitation Gabrielle, being declared public, the captors would obtain no favourable decision before the British government have statuted, on the demands of the Brazils, which claims in favour of their admiral, officers, and crew, their shares to the captures, in which they have

contributed, conjointly with the English, in the beginning of the present war.

"Whilst his most Christian majesty Louis XVIII., judging proper to shew gratitude to the brave warriors who have participated in putting him again in possession of his patrimonial estate, authorises the undersigned, his confidential *chargé d'affaires* to his Britannic majesty's government, to renew the declaration he has before ordered to be made, and which is now in the hands of Mr. Yeo, the captors' agent. Declaration which the Count de la Châtre is ready to discuss amicably with the agents, in order that the affair, being agreed on, an act in due and legal form should be drawn up and signed by the aforesaid agent, and his most Christian majesty, the aforesaid *chargé d'affaires*, inasmuch to enable the captors once indemnified to give their desisting of any claims whatever made by them, or by procuration to the Brazil government.

"The Count de la Châtre, desiring in the name of his most Christian majesty, in case some point could not be adjusted between the captors' agent and the aforesaid Count de la Châtre, Mr. William Hamilton would condescend to take the trouble, not in the capacity of under secretary of state, but by the unlimited confidence in the respectability of his character, to become their arbitrator, and decide definitively.

(Signed) "COUNT DE LA CHATRE."

"London, November 7, 1811.

"The undersigned confidential *chargé d'affaires* of the Count de Lille (Louis XVIII.) accredited by his Britannic

majesty's government, has formerly addressed a reclamation desiring the principal secretary of state (then Monsieur Canning) to have it recommended by Lord Strangford to his royal highness the Prince-Regent of Portugal, the purport of which was the Count de Lille's re-instation in the possession of his family's patrimonial habitations, lying in the island of Cayenne.

" This establishment having been purchased by his majesty Louis XVI., with his private and personal funds, cannot be considered in another light than as a family property, and not as national domain.

" Lord Strangford, at his departure for the Brazils, received proper instructions relative on this object, and on his exposition of the facts, &c., the Prince-Regent of Portugal has acknowledged the legal right of the Count de Lille to that inheritance.

" In the meanwhile no decree has yet been issued, no orders given to put his most Christian majesty in possession of these objects, especially of the Habitation Gabrielle, the most valuable of the reclamations. In these circumstances the undersigned has imagined that some difficulties had perhaps arisen from the captors of the colony, who, considering the Habitation Gabrielle as public property, thought themselves as rightly entitled to a part of the value as part of prize.

" The undersigned considers such representations as inadmissible, since everything concurs to ascertain that the property was personal to his majesty Louis XVI., and his royal highness the prince-regent considers it in the same point of view. But, desirous to avoid all kind of difficulties in the re-instauration, and possession

of this object, and wishing particularly to act generously and gratefully towards the brave warriors, who, by their arms, have contributed to the re-taking of this private and personal inheritance, considering likewise that every habitation consists in three objects very distinct in value, namely :—

" 1. The ground land, which produces nothing without labour or labourers.

" 2. The labourers (people of colour) who constitute part of the habitation, and cannot be disposed of without injuring it, and annihilating its value.

" 3. And last, the productions of the habitation deposited in the private store-houses, and the several crops which are to be stored in the year.

" The undersigned is authorised to propose, in the name of the Count de Lille, to give up such part of this third article, or even the whole of it, if Lord Strangford judges it convenient and necessary, it being well understood, that in this case all kinds of debts formerly contracted for expenses of building, reparations, administration, and expenses of labour, will be acquitted on the sale of the productions, since these debts diminish necessarily the intrinsic value.

(Signed) " THE COUNT DE LA CHATRE."

SIR CHARLES STUART TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE VISCOUNT CHATEAUBRIAND.

" Paris, October 13, 1823.

" SIR,

" I have to acknowledge the receipt of your excellency's note of the 8th instant, accompanying a memorandum respecting La Gabrielle.

"This paper takes a partial view of the case, which arises no doubt from the multifarious documents not having been delivered at the same time; for it is impossible that after a full and due consideration, a proposal could have been made on the part of his majesty which rejects the whole of the principal sum claimed, and offers as a remuneration and indemnity to the captors one-fifth of the *interest due* in full of all demands. Therefore, to save your excellency the trouble of referring to previous communications, I beg to transmit the accompanying statement of the grounds and circumstances of the claim of the captors of Cayenne which my government has charged me to support.

"In the official note transmitted by your excellency, I must observe that no mention is made of the second proposal of the Duke de la Châtre to the captors, in which they are offered a legal indemnification; but that it selects as a basis of argument against the claim the first note of Monsieur de la Châtre, which was rejected by the captors as inadmissible.

"The note in question also states that the habitation was not given up to the king until 1817, and that he never received the spices in the magazines. This, however, was not the fault of the captors; all that they were asked to do by his majesty was done, viz., they desisted from their claim on Portugal, and consented to accept his most Christian majesty as their debtor instead of that power; and, on their thus fulfilling his majesty's desires, he charged his plenipotentiary, Monsieur de la Châtre, to express to them his most Christian majesty's high satisfaction at their generous conduct.

"It follows from the above statement that they now

come forward to solicit a compliance with their just and acknowledged demand, not as a favour, but as a right; and I am persuaded that your excellency will upon this view of the case, supported as it is by documents in your office, feel it right to lay the matter again before his most Christian majesty, in whose honour and justice the most perfect confidence is placed.

"I have the honour, &c.

(Signed) "CHARLES STUART."

Note attached to Sir Charles Stuart's letter to Monsieur de Chateaubriand, dated Paris, 13th October, 1823.

"The island was taken in 1809, and an inventory made of all the property, which, according to the laws of war, belonged as prize to the captors; in this class ranked all the slaves found on the public property, or in the hands of government. The island being transferred to the Portuguese government, it became responsible to the English captors for the amount of the public property, including the slaves; a valuation was made of each class of property, in order to payment.

"In the interim his majesty Louis XVI. claimed La Gabrielle as his private property, as heir to Louis XVI. This claim was not allowed, because, at the period of the capture, the estate was in the hands of the French government, and consequently was public property.

"Monsieur de la Châtre, in the name of his majesty Louis XVIII., then proposed as a basis of arrangement (*vide* his note of 7th November, 1811), in which he

laid down the hypothesis, that the slaves were a part of the real estate, and as to the property existing in the warehouses, that it should be given up to the captors, on condition of their paying the debt of the estate, and the expenses of the buildings, &c. upon it.

"This arrangement, equally inadmissible with the former claim, was also rejected by the captors, who simply observed to Monsieur de la Châtre, 'The Portuguese government offers to give up La Gabrielle to his majesty Louis XVIII., *saving the right of the captors*, which it is ready to pay us; and if it will not give us £85. sterling per head for the three hundred and fifty-two slaves, we shall close with the offer made us by the house of Messrs. Prinseps and Saunders, of London, to take them at that price, for their plantation in Surinam; but having the most perfect confidence in the honour of Louis XVIII., we will consent to transfer our claim from the Portuguese government to his most Christian majesty, as he assures us that by our desisting from the claim on Portugal, it will facilitate his being put in possession of the property.'

"It was upon this specific and special arrangement (viz. Monsieur de la Châtre's note of May, 1812) that the captors accordingly desisted from claiming the value of the slaves and spices from the Portuguese government, and his most Christian majesty became bound as far as honour and positive engagements can bind, to pay the captors the full sum that they would have received from the Portuguese government, and as his majesty's finances were not in a state to pay the amount immediately, the captors became, of course, entitled to legal interest for the delay, which interest

upon the capital sum of £49,658, for twelve years, at five per cent. amounts to £29,794, sterling.

"With respect to the indemnity promised by his majesty being a conditional one, it is only necessary to refer to the correspondence of Monsieur de la Châtre upon the subject, in which there is not the least trace of any such circumstance, and to the actual situation of the captors as here stated, to make it impossible to suppose that they would have given up these vested and acknowledged rights, for a conditional indemnity on the part of his most Christian majesty, when they could have no interest in accepting the legal one promised by Monsieur de la Châtre, but a wish to serve his majesty, who was then in misfortune."

MR. CANNING TO SIR CHARLES STUART.

"Foreign Office, June 30, 1823.

"SIR,

"Sir Sidney Smith has transmitted to me the accompanying memorial and documents referred to therein, containing copies of the correspondence which took place both before and since the restoration of his most Christian majesty, between Monsieur de la Châtre and the agent for the British officers and men engaged in the capture of the colony of Cayenne.

"As it appears clearly from these documents that the officers (placing the fullest reliance upon the pledge given to them by the Count de la Châtre, in his official capacity as accredited agent of his most Christian majesty,) were induced, solely at his request, to withdraw their claim upon the Portuguese government, for

the whole value of the Gabrielle plantation, situated in that colony, for which they would otherwise have received immediate remuneration, I cannot believe that the French government will hesitate to redeem the pledge so given by the Comte de la Châtre, and recognised by him when ambassador to the British court, after the restoration of his most Christian majesty, and after the cession by treaty of the colony to the French government ; and I feel it incumbent on me to desire that you will use your best endeavours to induce that government to make such an arrangement with the parties interested as may secure to them the fair remuneration to which they are so justly entitled, not only for their essential services in recovering the colony, but for the liberal and handsome manner in which they committed their interests to the honour of the French king, in order to enable his majesty more effectually to prosecute his own.

"I am, with great truth and respect, &c.,

(Signed) "GEORGE CANNING."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD ABERDEEN.

"Kensington Palace, August 1, 1823.

"MY LORD,

"I beg leave to address your lordship as being the natural advocate of the captors of the island of Cayenne and their representatives, the widows and orphans of those who are now no more; and more particularly I beg leave to call your lordship's atten-

tion to the distressed circumstances of the Misses Yeo, sisters of Sir James Yeo, who commanded his majesty's ship Confiance, acting under my orders in the reduction of that French colony in 1809, in co-operation with the Portuguese force, and to whose able guidance and gallant example that success was mainly owing.

"Their distressed circumstances and my own (which I am at length driven to mention as no less so) are occasioned by our share as captors of the plantation and stored produce of La Gabrielle, condemned to us as enemy's property, having been withheld from us by the claim of his majesty Louis XVIII. thereto, as *private* property, having been listened to by his majesty's principal secretary of state for foreign affairs, the Marquis of Wellesley, and subsequently by Mr. Canning, and also by us captors at the instance of our government, which induced us to part *with the actual possession* of the recorded value of 49,658*l.*, the interest of which for nineteen years, since 1809, would have more than doubled it had we then received it as we ought and should, if it had not been for the act of our government. In support of this assertion, I beg leave to refer your lordship to the Count de la Châtre's correspondence as representing his majesty Louis XVIII. first as Count de Lille, an emigrant at Hartwell, subsequently as King of France after the restoration, and also to that of your lordship's predecessors in your present office, with their excellences the several British ambassadors, as also theirs with the several French ministers for foreign affairs from 1814 to the present time; and *more particularly* to the letter of Sir Charles Stuart to the Viscount de Chateaubriand,

dated 13th October, 1823, and its very important enclosure of the same date. On this ground we make our stand, and claim from some quarter or other, a just equivalent for our prize-money, under the late king's proclamation of the 15th June, 1808, which awards the several shares of captured enemy's property, mine as commander-in-chief being one-twelfth part.

LORD STUART DE ROTHESAY TO THE EARL OF ABERDEEN.

"Paris, October 13, 1828.

"My Lord,

"M. de Rayneval adverted yesterday, in conversation, to the claim which has been preferred by the British officers and seamen concerned in the capture of Cayenne, to an indemnity for the property given up to the King of France upon the plantation of the Gabrielle, and though he did not contest the validity of the engagement, which had been entered into by the French government, to pay a sum of 250,000 francs before the 1st of March, he desired to know if I was ready, whenever I should receive that money, to give him a full discharge for the amount of the claim.

"Though I answered in the affirmative, he told me that he felt anxious to know if the discharge I should be authorised to give, upon receiving the money, would be quite conclusive, because petitions had reached him from individuals interested in this claim, insinuating that the 250,000 francs are to be advanced merely in part of the indemnity claimed, which he had, on the contrary, understood would be quite extinguished by that payment. He therefore requested that I would obtain from my government, and

transmit to him, the form of the discharge, it is proposed to authorise me to deliver, adding that a previous agreement upon this point would materially hasten a settlement.

"As I see no objection to comply with this request, perhaps your lordship will be pleased to direct a blank form to be drawn out, and transmitted to me, in order to satisfy M. de Rayneval that no further demands on this account are contemplated by his majesty's government.

"I have, &c.,

(Signed) "STUART DE ROTHESAY."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO JOHN BACKHOUSE, ESQ.

"No. 72, Great Russell Street, October 20, 1828.

"SIR,

"I have to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of October 18th, enclosing a copy of one of his Excellency Lord Stuart de Rothsay to Lord Aberdeen, of the 13th, by which I observe that the French government look to a termination of the long pending Gabrielle claim.

"Towards this desirable end (to the claimants and creditors of *vital importance*) and to prevent the necessity of distant correspondence and reference to the principal classes whose decisions have hitherto been conclusive with regard to the others, from the confidence placed therein by the inferior and subordinate ones, the Misses Yeo and Captain Mulcaster have concentrated a delegation of their powers by executing a document, of which the enclosed is a certified copy.

"In transmitting the same to you to be laid before Lord Aberdeen, I beg leave to add, that I am ready to proceed to Paris for the purpose in question, and also to express my conviction of the utility of the measure towards the conclusion of Lord Stuart's zealous labours, as I have the means of referring to previous admissions and a right to hold language that would make it difficult for the present *arbitrators* not to grant the promised 'just indemnity' which certainly the sum offered at present is not, or at least to record the insufficiency, with the promise of aid in recovering the difference from the heirs of the crown of Portugal, whoever they may be, that crown having withheld whatever part of our property France did not receive, and our government having guaranteed us. The debt to us being now *public*, the King of France, with the right feeling on the subject which I have found to exist in his majesty's mind, will, I am persuaded, be our advocate towards obtaining entire justice; and failing thereof, will feel bound, for the honour of his brother's memory and his own dignity, to compensate the parties interested, and recompense those who saved a colony for France, menaced, as it was, by Victor Hugues, the governor, with the fate of his former government, Guadaloupe, or that of St. Domingo, the elements and political situation of Cayenne being the same, so long as they were not wrested by force from his hands. This, Captain Sir James Yeo, ably seconded by the equal gallantry and moderation of Captain Mulcaster, under my orders and sanction, succeeded in; thereby hauling down *the last three-coloured flag in the western*

hemisphere, and putting an end to the barbarous piracy which it covered and fostered.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH."

And thus ends all that is to be found on the subject. Whether the document was of any avail, and whether Sir Sidney was deputed to go to Paris, does not appear; but, as in little more than a year Charles abdicated the throne, and Louis Philippe was chosen King of the French, the latter, who called Sir Sidney "his old friend," could not but listen and be favourably inclined to his appeal; which, however, does not seem from the papers to have ever been made to him.

CHAPTER X.

MEDITERRANEAN.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH HOISTS HIS FLAG IN THE TREMENDOUS. — JOINS SIR EDWARD PELLEW, OFF TOULON, AS SECOND IN COMMAND. — SENT TO CAGLIARI TO ADJUST SOME COMPLAINTS. — IS WELL RECEIVED BY THE KING AND ROYAL FAMILY. — RECEIVES ASSURANCES THAT ALL MATTERS SHALL BE ADJUSTED. — VISIT OF THE ROYAL FAMILY TO THE HIBERNIA.

1812—1813—1814.

Sir Sidney Smith, having arrived at Portsmouth in the Diana on the 9th of August, 1809, from the Brazils, shortly after struck his flag. On the 31st July of the following year, 1810, he was promoted to the rank of vice-admiral of the blue squadron. Not expecting immediate employment, especially after the way in which he had been so summarily, and by his own account so unjustly, ordered home from his last command, he entered into society and enjoyed all its gaieties and amusements, to which he had for some time been a stranger; and in October 1810, he married the widow of Sir George B. Rumboldt, Bart., who was at one time British consul at Hamburgh. Lady Rumboldt was left with three daughters, each accomplished, intelligent, and amiable, who found in their step-father the attention, care, and affection of a real father.

He was not, however, permitted to remain long unemployed: and on the 18th July, 1812, Vice-

Admiral Sir William Sidney Smith proceeded to Portsmouth, and hoisted his flag on board the Tremendous, as second in command of a fleet destined for the Mediterranean, of which Sir Edward Pellew was commander-in-chief. He lost no time in getting his ship into a state of readiness for sea, and in proceeding to her destination. The first letter that appears from him is dated from the Tremendous, in Escombrera Bay, Carthagena, September 21, 1812.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE HORSE GUARDS.*

"Tremendous, in Escombrera Bay, Carthagena.

"SIR,

"As Vice-Admiral Sir Richard Keats, whom I have re[lieved] on the Mediterranean station, will probably [not] have intercourse with Cadiz, I think it right to communicate to you the information I have received from the eastward by him, who called off this port yesterday. I therefore send for your perusal the enclosed documents, the contents of which you may perhaps think proper to communicate to Lord Wellington, together with my earnest recommendation to his lordship that this important and [only] port by which the navy can effectually supply the army in the south of the peninsula, be defended by a competent body of troops. Those at Alicant may be, and I believe are, very well posted for their own safety, but they there defend a comparatively unimportant part of the coast, whereas here they not only defend *themselves* while inferior to the armies concentrating here

* Not addressed, but intended, no doubt, for the commander-in-chief. This letter is in parts burnt; the words within brackets are supplied.

against them, but a *naval station*, the only one on the coast, and of more use than Cadiz ever was or could be [in] our operations in the heart of the Peninsula. I have not withheld this opinion from Admiral Hallowell, who may communicate it to General Maitland if it is required.

"I have thought it my duty while Soult was pointing this way by the Lorca road, to devote every hour of the time a Levant wind gives me, by retarding my progress eastward towards the fleet off Toulon (where the presence of the second in command thereof is requisite), to co-operating with General Ross in making every arrangement for the defence of this place against a *coup de main*, to which it was absolutely exposed before the [wall] on the eastern height of St. Sult was built as high as it is now [by] twelve feet, and before the approaches to it were flanked by a fire from a [battery] commanding those forces of the [* * *] which it could not itself see or flank. An order from the Spanish government seems requisite, as also the means such as *pitch*, of which there is none, and wages for a few shipwrights, to put the remaining Spanish gun-boats here in a state for action. We have but three of the whole number, brought out in an active state. The order for the frigate Solidad to go round to Cadiz fortunately cannot be executed for want of sailors to navigate her; she is more useful where she is at present, as a rendezvous and shelter for the men employed in the gun-boat service in winter, and I hope she may be allowed to remain, and Captain Carrol, whose division I have ordered may be authorised to make use of her for that purpose till an English frigate

under his command may be so appropriated. I name him as being most competent, most richly deserving post rank, and most anxious to continue to serve. The garrison of Ceuta is useless where it is and starving. Here it would earn and might receive its bread.

"I have the honour to be, sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

In a letter of the 30th September 1812, dated "his majesty's ship Tremendous, off Toulon," the vice-admiral acquaints the admiralty, that on this day he joined the commander-in-chief with the fleet off Toulon, in company with his majesty's ship Prince of Wales, which, with the Tremendous, it appears had lately been retarded by the easterly gales. He encloses copies of a correspondence relative to the exposed state of Carthagena, with 70,000 of the enemy's troops concentrating within two days' march of it. And he adds, "I trust I have left it out of immediate danger of a *coup de main*, whatever may be the enemy's intention; and I have no reason to think he will afford himself time to make a regular siege of that place, however he might desire to possess himself of the valuable park of artillery there, containing a supply of all the western army under Marshal Soult, which has been observed to be left behind. Joseph Buonaparte, it is understood, is withdrawn with the force he brought with him from Madrid, towards the Ebro, where it is expected Marshal Soult will take a position, as he has sent his heavy ordnance to Tortosa and in that direction."

In reply to this he is told, by the secretary of the

admiralty, (through Sir Edward Pellew,) "that their lordships are greatly surprised at receiving these communications direct from him, which, if necessary to be communicated at all, should have been transmitted to his commander-in-chief, whom their lordships cannot permit to be set aside and passed over by a flag-officer serving under his command." And Sir Edward Pellew is directed, by the same authority, to express to the said vice-admiral "their great surprise at receiving communications direct from Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, which, if necessary to be communicated at all, should have been transmitted through his commander-in-chief, whom their lordships cannot permit to be thus set aside and passed over by a flag-officer serving under his command."

Sir Sidney had always been so very correct in all points of naval discipline and etiquette, and particularly so in those regarding rank and command, that to have failed in this respect, under the immediate eye of his commander-in-chief, can only be explained by his having been himself so long acting as "commander-in-chief," and subsequently two or three years unemployed.

While off Toulon with the fleet, under the orders of Sir Edward Pellew, there was little or nothing to do or to engage attention, except to watch the French fleet in Toulon, and prevent their escape, if so disposed, which was considered doubtful, or if there was any apparent intention of their attempting it; there could be no doubt it was the ardent wish of every officer, and the bulk of the men too, in the British fleet, that they might have the opportunity of effecting it. The block-

ing-up system, with the view of closing an enemy's fleet in port, instead of meeting them fairly in the open sea, is believed now to be so universally scouted, that there is every hope that, in any future war, it will be abandoned. The blockade of Toulon was a most languid, tiresome concern to the men, and an unprofitable expenditure of stores, provisions, and other naval resources, as well as in the wear and tear of the whole fleet.

No officer in the fleet was more likely to contrive the means of some general employment than Sir Sidney Smith. It has been said, indeed, but not stated on competent authority, that he established a printing press in the Hibernia, into which ship his flag had been shifted, which is not unlikely, as the heading of all his orders, when separated from the commander-in-chief, at Caglieri particularly, are *printed*, and run thus: "By Sir William Sidney Smith, Knight, Commander and Grand Cross of the Royal Military Orders of the Sword and St. Ferdinand, Vice-Admiral of the White, and Second Officer in the command of His Majesty's ships and vessels employed in the Mediterranean." It is said, moreover, that he compiled a library in the ship, and got up a theatre on shore for acting plays, but whether at Caglieri or Port Mahon is not specified; nor does there seem to be any allusion to these among the voluminous Sidney papers; but, judging from the extraordinary and incessant activity of the man, I should say that in the stagnation of official duties, failing to occupy his mind, such projects were by no means unlikely to be adopted.

Sir Edward Pellew seeing no probability of the

French fleet venturing to leave the port, distributed the ships of his squadron, as required, to the several ports of the Mediterranean, where England was on terms of peace and friendship; and, among others, the Hibernia was ordered to proceed to Caglieri, in Sardinia, to inquire into complaints made against the supposed countenance, protection, and assistance given to French vessels; one in particular from Captain Coghlan, of the Euryalus, relative to a violent interruption he met with, in endeavouring to examine an enemy's vessel he had chased from sea, until under the guns of a Sardinian fort, where she received protection, to which, in fact, if claimed as a neutral, she was entitled. The Sardinians were also charged with granting licences to French vessels; with trying to gain the advantages of neutrality, as regarding right of search; affording asylum and protection to French vessels pretending to be employed in the tunny fishery,—in short, granting Sardinian licences to cover the trade of France.

Sir Sidney had enough to do to settle these knotty points, which he appears to have accomplished in the most amicable manner; having very speedily succeeded in bringing over his Sardinian majesty and his minister the Chevalier Rossi, to think favourably of him and his case. He expresses to Sir Edward Pellew his gratification that, after several amicable conferences with Mr. Rossi, and the most satisfactory confidential communications with the king himself, in different private audiences, "I have obtained," he says, "the most distinct assurances of a ready co-operation against the common enemy." But he experienced a further

proof of the kindness and condescension of the king and the royal family, by their partaking of a grand entertainment on board the Hibernia.

"The King of Sardinia was graciously pleased to mark, in the eyes of his subjects, the mutual confidence existing between the two nations, by selecting the fourth of June, being the birth-day of his Majesty, George III., to pay me (as his Sardinian Majesty was pleased to say,) a personal visit on board the Hibernia on that day, with his queen, royal family, and court. I, of course, received them with the honours due to crowned heads, and royal persons connected with the imperial family of Austria, by a double marriage; the Archduke Francis and his Archduchess, the King of Sardinia's eldest daughter, being with their majesties, although they had before visited the ship.

"Previously to the repast, customary on such anniversaries and on such occasions, their majesties and the royal family visited every deck of the ship, and their admiration and satisfaction were manifested, in the most condescending and obliging manner. On this occasion I should be wanting in justice to the captain and first lieutenant and other officers of the Hibernia, if I did not record my own satisfaction at the good order and cleanliness, in every respect constantly maintained on board her, and her consequent fitness to bear the very minute inspection which hath been bestowed upon her by his Sardinian majesty, and many thousands of his subjects, who thronged daily to see her, as an object of stupendous and awful novelty to them.

"The queen was graciously pleased to send, as a pre-

sent to the ship's company, a handsome proportion of refreshments, consisting of five bullocks and three pipes of wine, which it was thought respectful gratefully to accept.

"My mission (he says in his report) ended by closing the official correspondence in the way you will observe, by the enclosures, in perfect harmony and good understanding, and I am now on my way to join your flag on your rendezvous.

"I have the honour," &c.

On the 22nd June he rejoined the admiral, who, in reporting it to the admiralty, observes that the presence of Mr. Hill (*chargé d'affaires*) in England, he trusts will enable his majesty's ministers to take measures for preventing the recurrence of any cause of complaint in future, for it does not appear that any security has been obtained from the result of Sir Sidney's mission; that is, that no formal treaty or agreement was executed, but royal assurances only were obtained.

On the 28th March, 1814, we find the Hibernia in Port Mahon, and Sir Sidney writes to the commander-in-chief to say, that finding his health to be such as to render him desirous of going to England for its re-establishment, it being the opinion of the surgeon of the ship that it is absolutely necessary he should for a time remain on shore, to go through a course of medicine and exercise, and as the ship was about to proceed to England, Sir Edward Pellew assented to his going with his flag flying in her, and took leave of him, with the following expression of

approbation of his conduct, during the time he was under his command.

Sir Edward Pellew on this occasion expresses "his grateful sense of the cordiality with which he had duly and uniformly acted with him during the period of his services on the station."

On the 1st of July he arrived at Plymouth, and struck his flag in the Hibernia, she being the last ship in which it was destined to fly.

On the 26th July, Sir Sidney Smith addresses two letters (of the same date and the same subject) to Mr. W. Hamilton, one of the under secretaries of state, giving a lively account of the royal visitors and their numerous court attendants, as well as of the multitude of voracious guests which he had to feed on board the Hibernia.

SIR W. SIDNEY SMITH TO WM. HAMILTON, ESQ.

"Albemarle Street, July 16, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"You are already, I believe, apprized that I was sent to Caglieri on a *peaceable* mission, although in a first-rate man-of-war, to heal a breach occasioned by an actual act of hostility against one of our cruisers, committed by one of the forts on the north-west end of Sardinia, and at the same time to demonstrate that we could not require of subordinate officers, in *the execution of their duty*, such a degree of forbearance as to bear being fired at with *grape-shot*, by a *soi-disant* friend protecting a common enemy, without firing again, in which case, had it come to that, such was the tenacity of the king to support his "territorial rights,"

such the formal mechanical mode of reasoning always exhibited by the first minister according to his Ratisbon education; and such the absolute barbarism of the savage inhabitants of Sardinia, that if matters had not been settled, *a l'aimable*, we should have been in a most uncomfortable state of hostility, affecting our trade by so much as the island would have been a harbour for French privateers in the track to Malta and the Levant, and we should in the fleet have been deprived of our only resource for beef and vegetables in case, as we apprehended, that of Africa should fail us, from the monopolizing rapacity of the local governors, and the absolute resistance of the natives against the exactions by which we were supplied—'*On n'attrappe pas les mouches avec du vinaigre*,' in any country; it became necessary, therefore, to bait with sweets, but these cost money; and where ten thousand individuals at least choose to profit by the welcome given them, that they may come and handle the rod that is to chastise them if they should provoke it; where a crowned head, with his royal family, and his son-in-law a member of an imperial family, coming round into our scale, condescend to visit a public officer in his place, whose appointments and allowances are not calculated to meet such a contingency, it would require the power of working a miracle, like that of the loaves and fishes, to meet it without expense, for, on such an occasion, a man of my rank in the world, independent of the flag, could not set a "leg of mutton and turnips" before such guests. I did as became me and the country; I completely succeeded not only in re-establishing harmony, but inspiring a degree of confidence, giving us ascend-

ancy in the direction of the combination then going on for the recovery of Modena, the archduke Francis d'Este's maternal inheritance, and the king of Sardinia's continental dominions, combining also the attack on Genoa, against which it would have been impolitic to allow Austria or Murat to operate alone.

"I succeeded in the object of my mission and more. Mr. Hill as you know, was absent, and the consul (a Sardinian subject) could not act as I could and did; I was looked to in the minister's house and visited *by all* as his representative, Mr. Smith, not being there, I did not flinch from the duty, but, as this cost me *more than my income*, I am reduced to claim reimbursement from the department, which can take cognizance of, and duly appreciate, such sort of disbursement, incident to extra duty, not in the least naval. I was situated much in the same way as to the obligation of expense incident to numerous royal and illustrious volunteer guests, as I was at Rio de Janeiro. I earnestly beg the favour of you to examine and liberally consider the items of the enclosed account of the expenditure having been unavoidable, considering the honour and advantage of the country; and economical, inasmuch as peace and friendship is cheaper than hostility or mistrustful observation of our neighbours and doubtful allies. You may not be aware that at Valencia (in sight of which the last three-coloured flag was flying on the impregnable fortress of Murviedro, under orders from Suchet, to hold that link of communication with his dukedom of Albufera to the last) *one half* of the Spanish army considered the peace of Valençay, signed by the Duke of St. Carlos, as valid and binding on them; and that

the news of the events of Paris, in April, which I brought, so far from creating the exultation that might have been expected, was received *most coldly;* under these circumstances, it was as well that my old Monte Video correspondent and *friend,* the hot-headed Elio, the Empecinado, the Duke of St. Carlos, Palafox, Seyas, &c. &c. on one hand, and *Luyando* on the other, should have a hunger and thirst for my moderate corrected ideas, and come on board to me to seek them,—could I let such personages go on shore hungry in any way, after a four-mile row in a boat? Could I do otherwise than make due preparations, when I am officially told that my old Madrid acquaintance, the Infant Don Antonio, *just nominated Lord High Admiral,* intended to honor my ship with a visit, and my table with their presence, together with his nephew the king's brother, Don Carlos, and that the king himself would come also if his gout would let him? Ought I to pay for such an entertainment, or my family-table to be curtailed for a year afterwards, to square such an expenditure in my agent's books? I put it to the candour of such liberal men as Lord Castlereagh and his colleagues; and particularly with confidence through such a liberal and experienced man in such matters as yourself, whether as the *state gains* by such arrangements I shall be *taxed my whole income,* and even to the *being in debt,* to realise these peaceable objects. If Sir Henry Wellesley had heard Capons the constitutionalist commander of the first army, "*primero exersito,*" and Elio, the *anti*-constitutionalist, commanding the second, express their sentiments, as they did confidentially to me, in direct opposition to

each other, he would have seen how near he was to a scene of confusion, beyond his control or the control of anything but a superior military arbitration. I was as economical as possible, which you will see by the account herewith . . . . While writing I receive your discouraging letter of yesterday: where I have right and reason on my side, and have to do with right and reasonable men, I am never discouraged, and will make my application in any and every quarter and form till I obtain what I consider to be as justly my due, as in any of the many similar cases where the chief secretary of the Foreign Department has had occasion to reimburse a public servant his expenses for conciliatory or etiquette purpôses in foreign courts. The *Admiralty* may not choose to make a precedent of allowing table-money to a flag-officer, *second* in command, I therefore look to the Foreign Office, which may exercise a discretionary power in my *peculiar* case, under *peculiar* circumstances. Yours very truly,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

With this short and not very important service terminated the military career of Sir Sidney Smith, and with it, or immediately after it, the long protracted war was concluded by the total overthrow of Buonaparte, who had been the sole cause of its prolongation. But a state of war was not required to call into action the personal activity or the mental faculties of Sir Sidney Smith.

CHAPTER XI.

THE KNIGHTS LIBERATORS' SOCIETY FOR ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.

THE FIRST FORMATION OF THE CONGRESS OF UNITED SOVEREIGNS AT VIENNA.—SIR SIDNEY SMITH APPOINTED PRESIDENT.—THEIR EXTENSIVE LABOURS IN CORRESPONDENCE WITH VARIOUS CHARACTERS, PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.—MR. WILBERFORCE.—LORD EXMOUTH.—PRINCE BEY.

1814—1840.

It could not be expected that a man who, like Sidney Smith, had passed through life to the fiftieth year of his age, in a state of full bodily health and vigour, with a mind full of intelligence and natural energy, constantly increased with age, would or could submit to fall into a torpid state of idleness, inactivity, and habits of indolence. No such change could be looked for in Sir Sidney Smith, and none were suffered to intrude on his natural taste for occupation; and one of the first objects that caught his attention was well calculated to call into action that spirit of philanthropy and humanity, for which he was laudably distinguished, and which was equally bestowed on friends and enemies, on countrymen and foreigners.

The subject here alluded to, was the horrible white slave-trade then carried on by the Barbary powers, the unfeeling despots of Morocco, Algiers, Tunis, and

Tripoli; of the atrocities committed by these he was not ignorant, having experience of the same kind during his extensive connection with the Turks, throughout the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean and Levant. His own feeling heart required no spur to be called into action, nor does it appear that any was given to it; a brief statement of what was going on in England at the time of Sir Sidney's first service in the navy, may assist in deciding that question, which, however, is one of not much importance now.

About the middle of the year 1814, Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, immediately after striking his flag and coming on shore, conceived a plan for the formation of a society, which was carried into execution, and of which I believe he was *fons et origo*, the great object of which was the abolition of Christian or white slavery carried on by the Barbary states. He might, perhaps, have received some impulse to the speedy establishment of his plan, by the strenuous exertions that were then making by the association in England for the abolition of negro slavery, their appeal to foreign states, and more particularly by an address, voted on the 5th of May, 1814, by the British House of Lords, to his royal highness the Prince Regent, for the abolition of the African slave trade.

The following is a copy of the address so voted, and it is inserted here, to shew the similarity of the introductory part, which relates to "endeavours to obtain from other powers that co-operation which is necessary for the completion of this great work."

Address voted on the 5th of May, 1814, by the British House of Lords to His Royal Highness the Prince-Regent, for the abolition of the African slave-trade.

"We humbly represent to your royal highness, that we have seen with unspeakable satisfaction the beneficial and happy consequences of the law by which the African slave-trade has been, throughout all his majesty's dominions, prohibited and abolished; and that we rely with the fullest confidence on the gracious assurances, which both his majesty and your royal highness have condescended to give to us, of your endeavours to obtain from other powers that co-operation which is still necessary for the completion of this great work. It well became Great Britain, having partaken so largely in the guilt of the inhuman and unchristian traffic, to stand forward among the nations of Europe and openly to proclaim the renunciation. This duty we have discharged; but our obligations do not cease here. The crimes countenanced by our example, and the calamities created or extended by our misconduct, continue to afflict an unoffending people. Other European nations still carry on this commerce, if commerce it can be called, in the lives and liberties of our fellow-creatures. By their intervention its clandestine continuance is encouraged and facilitated in our dependencies. By the same cause the desolation and barbarism of a whole continent are prolonged; and unless some timely prevention be applied, the returning tranquillity of Europe, the source of joy and exultation to ourselves, will be the era only of re-

newed and aggravated miseries to the wretched victims of an unprincipled and relentless avarice. With all humility, therefore, but with the utmost earnestness, we supplicate your royal highness that the whole weight and influence of the British crown may be exerted, in the approaching negotiations, to avert this dreadful evil. In the name of our country, and on the behalf of the interests of humanity, we entreat that the immediate and total abolition of the slave trade may be solicited from all the sovereigns of Europe. No moment we think was ever yet so favourable for stipulating a joint and irrevocable renunciation of those barbarous practices, and for promulgating, by the assembled authority of the whole civilized world, a solemn declaration, that to carry away into slavery the inhabitants of unoffending countries, is to violate the universal law of nations, founded, as it must ever be, on the immutable principles of justice and religion. It is on those sacred principles the safe-guards of all lawful governments, the bulwark of all national independence, that we wish our proposal to be rested; on them we rely for its success: recommended as it will be, not by the exhortations only, but by the example of Great Britain, and addressed to the rulers of those states, which have themselves so signally been rescued by providence from danger and destruction, from eternal desolation, and from subjection to a foreign yoke. On all it must, we think, impress itself with equal force; for whether they be ranked among the deliverers or the delivered, among those whom a merciless oppression had already overwhelmed, or among those whose moderation and justice in success have

added lustre even to the firmness of their resistance and to the glory of their victories, no worthier thanks, we confidently believe, can be offered to providence for past protection; on no better grounds can future blessings be solicited, than by the recognition and discharge of the great duties which we all owe to the rights, the liberty, and the happiness of our fellow-creatures."

Among these papers of Sir Sidney is found one dated the 14th of August, of the same year, 1814, entitled, "Memorial on the necessity and the means to put a stop to the piracy of the Barbary states." It is so very ill written in manner and matter, that it is impossible to believe Sir Sidney Smith had any concern in it, except a vain attempt to correct it by copious blotting out and altering words and sentences, which, at least, have the appearance of being in his hand-writing, but are not sufficient to divest it of the low and vulgar character in which it was originally written. The same paper has been re-composed entirely in good language, and is published in Mr. Howard's book, with this addition at the conclusion.

"Received, considered, and adopted at Paris, September, 1814, at Turin, October 14th, 1814, and at Vienna, during the meeting of the congress of the allied sovereigns.

(Signed) "Wm. Sidney Smith."

Nothing of which nor any signature appears in the original document.

The paper details the well known practices of the

Barbary pirates, especially of the Dey of Algiers; their extortion of money from the rulers of the smaller states; that formerly they were kept under by the efforts of the knights of St. John of Jerusalem. The writer then alludes to his knowledge of the subject, to his mission to the Ottoman Porte, and to his command in the Levant; he states his conviction of being able to put an end to this system of piracy, and offers to take upon himself the management of this enterprize, provided he be furnished with the means, which, he says, might be accomplished.

But the grand step taken by Sir Sidney was to write to the several knights of various orders, and to introduce names of high rank, and of note in society into the list of those, whom he called the knights liberators of the white slaves; and he sent out letters missive to the ministers of crowned heads, to the several consuls, and others vested with official authority, with no sparing hand; in short, by an extraordinary exertion of labour, he succeeded in procuring an assembly, not only of the knights of various orders, but of many others to be there present at Vienna, on the 29th of December, 1814; at the same time that the congress of the allied sovereigns were assembled to settle and arrange the pacification of the European states, and to create a friendly feeling among them. Sir Sidney wisely thought it a prudent step, that the promoters of his scheme, for the abolition of piracy and Christian slavery, should be present on such an occasion.

Previous to Sir Sidney's leaving London for this meeting, he had dispatched and received answers to a

multitude of letters, all of them of an encouraging nature. One, however, of a rambling character he received from a steady old friend of his, Mr. Wilberforce, who complains of hardly knowing where to find him, and says but little about the great object which interests him so much, being deeply engaged in another society of a similar pursuit, the abolition of the negro slave trade. His letter is as follows.

W. WILBERFORCE ESQ. TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Sandgate, September 23, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"Seldom has any man been more unjust to another than I have been to myself, in delaying so long to reply to your last interesting letter. It is, however, most true to say, that it was because it was so interesting and that yet I could not give it the answer I wished, that I remained silent. I named the matter to a friend or two, and thought about a joint effort. Being in debt (*entre nous*) to my own banker 2000*l.*, I was not in a situation to act up to my own wishes; but I need not go into particulars, because I have no satisfactory result, and because you give me credit, I believe, for every disposition to serve you, so far as I can do it with propriety. I have been thinking, however, of taking up my pen day after day, indeed, ever since I received your letter. But I am roused into action to day, by seeing in the newspapers, yours and lady Sidney's names in the list of fashionable departures for the Continent. Yet I know not how to convey this to you by shooting flying, at which I never was very expert. But I really felt quite shocked at the idea of your going abroad without

having received any answer at all to so interesting a communication. I am not without hopes of your inquiring about me, or letting me have a line to announce your arrival at Dover. I should have more to say to you than I can say well this evening, and a letter or two to beg you to take for me to Vienna. Though I left London, almost immediately after seeing you, I was not able to return to this place till Saturday last. Both before and since I have been employing as much time as I could save from the wear and tear of the day, (what that is I need not explain to you) in writing a letter to the Prince of Beneventum, to be published if possible in Paris. All I have heard from various quarters induces me to believe, that if the King of France, or his ministers, could act for themselves without reference to public opinion, we should succeed better for the Africans than we are now likely to do. But I fear the French have made up their mind not to give their assent to immediate abolition, on a principle of false honour, at the ensuing congress, unless they could obtain in exchange for it some valuable object; not but that Clarkson rather misconceived that matter, imagining, that they were ready to give way, provided any cession should be offered to them, which would enable them to say we had not bullied them into acquiescence. If I knew where to catch you with a letter to a PERSON at Vienna, I should beg you to undertake the conveyance of it. I beg you will, at all events, let me hear from you, and inform me where you are and what you are doing. I will thank you also to let me know when you meditate returning to this country. Parliament, it is said, will meet in November, but it

seems very doubtful to me whether it would not be more advisable to delay, till after Christmas, any motion for doing tardy justice to Sir Sidney Smith. This may, however, depend on whether any other motions of a similar kind are to be brought forward or not. In case there are, then it might become expedient to propose your question also. Once more, do me the favour to write to me, directing to me in London. Present my best respects to Lady Smith, and believe me, my dear Sir Sidney,

"Ever yours, most sincerely,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

The installation of Sir Sidney Smith, as president of the Knights Liberators and Anti-piratical Society, brought him into a most extensive correspondence with all the sovereigns of Europe, through their ministers and *employés*, which, if collected, would fill a volume, and consequently, a very minute portion of it only can be inserted in the present narrative. Being confined to one subject, not of the most pleasing nature, and one, moreover, that has gradually diminished since the destruction of the power and tyranny of the Dey of Algiers, and, with it, of Christian slavery, (by the skill and gallantry of Lord Exmouth, and his brave associates, in the year 1816,) it has become no longer a matter of much interest; still less by the complete demolition of the successors of that tyrant, and by the conversion of their territory, greatly enlarged, in that part of Africa, into a French colony. A feeling of profound and proud respect for the noble admiral, renders it a pleasure to record

that he most readily acceded to Sir Sidney's request, to have his name enrolled among the knights liberators, which gave rise to the following brief correspondence.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD EXMOUTH.

"Paris, January 23, 1817.

"MY DEAR BROTHER KNIGHT!

"I this day received a letter from my friend and coadjutor at Vienna the Cardinal Gonsalvi, charging me to convey to you in particular, to your gallant captains, and our brethren the knights liberators in general, the expression of the gratitude of his sovereign and the Roman people, in such flattering terms that I cannot do justice thereto otherwise than by sending to you and to each a transcript of the original Italian text, which is under the hand of the copyist, and cannot be ready to go by this post. I will not, however, omit to notify to you directly, that I have received this to me most gratifying commission under all circumstances, but doubly so as you so nobly identified your feelings and views with those of the august and illustrious founders of our institution, and so kindly communicated to me the impression which the Marquis de Rivière's communication of our circulars had made on your mind. Your brethren have *unanimously* voted, at my suggestion, a tribute of their regard, respect, and admiration. The heroic devotion you manifested in the execution of the (too many) hopeless enterprise, was, I can assure you, duly appreciated when a correct translation of your pithy and energetic despatch, which I took care to lay before the antipiratical society, was read at the meeting before the anniversary.

It was on this occasion that an historical medal, bearing your effigy, was decided on as an homage due to you, and you would not have heard of it otherwise than directly, and in form, if we had been able to get it executed from any existing likeness of you within our power to procure; none, however, from which the artist can work with any confidence being within our reach, we are obliged to beg the favour of you to send to the secretary of the antipiratical institution, No. 99, Rue du Faubourg St. Honoré, a profile in relief of wax, or plaster of Paris, or porcelain. One of my lieutenants, Knocker, who is going over, is charged to convey to Mr. Locker the imperfect work the engraver has made from a shade which I begged the favour of Mr. L. to send to me; this is so imperfect that I have not allowed it to be engraven on the die for a medal that is to be in the cabinets of the subscribers, amongst which are so many sovereigns, statesmen and eminent persons, that it ought to be perfect. Pray do us this favour, and further allow the energetic and manly expressions of your answer to my proposition to you to become one of us, to be registered verbatim in our archives, in proof to the present age and posterity, of your having the same extended views that we have, and having had them as early as the 17th October, and, indeed, long before the receipt of the instructions under which you acted, and which were called for from the British cabinet by the public voice of Europe, from the highest to the lowest, and occasioned by the official pressure which took place here as soon as the Vienna conferences on the slave trade were renewed, and the claims

of the court of Sardinia produced, by one of our zealous and anxious knights, Count Revel, claiming the execution of the treaty of alliance, on occasion of the invasion of the Sardinian territory by *hostile force* of kidnappers. Yours, &c.,

"W. S. SMITH."

To this letter of Sir Sidney Lord Exmouth replies as follows.

LORD EXMOUTH TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"H. M. S. Boyne, Marseilles, October 17, 1817.

"MY DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"I received a few days ago from the hand of our mutual friend, the Marquis de Rivière, the friendly communication of one of the most gallant knights in Europe, and one with whom I have worked and been supported on all occasions when fortune seconded our wishes; it is a pride and pleasure to me to recollect the many proofs I have experienced of your regard and support. I feel a correspondent satisfaction in bringing them again to my remembrance. I had read with much interest your address to the sovereigns of Europe, and I believe the feeling of interest it has created is general. The horrible and abominable tyranny and oppression of these barbarians cry aloud for destruction. Chastisement is not enough, they should be destroyed, and I hope they will. It is an outrage on human nature, and an offence to God and man. I had hoped the congress would either have made an appeal to arms, or have dictated a code of maritime law for them by which, in future, they should regulate themselves;

and I think if a qualified person like yourself, acquainted with their manners, temper, &c., could have been sent over to them, all such arrangements might chance to have been made, as would have ended depredation and Christian slavery.

"I am greatly obliged to you, my dear Sir Sidney, for thinking of me among your knights, and your good intentions towards me. I shall not only, as one of the brethren, be ready to give my mite towards it, but, as a Christian and an Englishman, give it all the support I can. Some months ago my son Fleetwood wrote me that he should propose his services as volunteer to you, if you went, as was then talked of.

"I have passed on your papers to Lady Hester, and wrote Austin of the Phœnix, who is there to help her along. I should delight in such a passenger homewards, was she here.

"Believe me ever, &c.

(Signed) "EXMOUTH."

On Lord Exmouth's arrival at Plymouth, he addresses to Sir Sidney, as president at Paris, the following letter.

LORD EXMOUTH TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Admiralty House, Plymouth, July 29, 1818.

"SIR,

"Captain Hillyar has had the goodness to convey to me the parcel which you entrusted to his care, containing medals, struck under the direction of the Society for the suppression of Christian Slavery, to commemorate the attack upon the fleet and city of

Algiers, on the 27th August, 1816, and the consequences resulting from that battle.

"Captain Hillyar states that it was your intention to have accompanied these medals with a letter; but none having hitherto come to hand, it has occurred to me that it probably may have miscarried: I therefore feel it my duty to lose no time in returning you my best thanks for the attention you have been so kind as to shew me on this occasion; and also to request that you will offer my best acknowledgments to your associates of this order, for the very flattering manner in which they have been pleased to appreciate my services in the sacred cause of humanity.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

(Signed) "EXMOUTH."

The following, addressed to Sir Sidney Smith, proves the immediate beneficial effect resulting from Lord Exmouth's attack on Algiers.

Copy of a letter from a correspondent at Algiers, dated the 16th September, 1817, addressed to the President of the Antipiratical Society.

"THE rumour to which you allude, in your letter of the massacre of Europeans in this country, had not the least foundation. It is singular that the newspaper-makers should trouble Europe and mislead the opinions with such ridiculous stories. On the contrary, never were the Europeans and consuls in this country more respected and better off than under the reign of Omar Bashaw. But he is no more:

a few days ago, one of those revolutions, so very frequent here, and which you have yourself witnessed, I believe, several times, put an end to his existence; but this commotion, only among the Turks, did not produce any alarm among us; we were tranquil spectators of this catastrophe.

"The new dey appears to be guided by the same sentiments as his predecessor towards the Europeans. He behaves with great moderation, and has released a Hamburger vessel, captured some time ago, which has been given up to the British consul.

"The plague ravages this country with great fury. The mortality is very considerable, principally among the lower classes of the people.

"A rumour has prevailed here, since the beginning of this summer, of a new expedition from England against this country being contemplated. It has occasioned great alarm among the people, and it is possible that it has, in some measure, produced the moderation of the new dey of releasing the just mentioned Hamburger vessel, without its having been reclaimed yet by any power. In that manner the regency, without doubt, will try to disarm the thunder of England, if there was any ground for the supposition of the new expedition."

After a long interval, we find a letter of Mr. Wilberforce, abusing the French, but omitting all mention of the subject nearest to Sir Sidney's heart.

MR. WILBERFORCE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"London, Aug. 26, 1823.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"It is, indeed, as you state, very long since we interchanged a word, or a line: yet be assured I do not forget you. As a public man, indeed, I must previously lose the recollection of some of the brightest incidents in the history of my own times; but as a private man also, you have excited an interest in my bosom which, though revived but seldom, will never I trust altogether expire. You, my dear Sir Sidney, as well as myself, must be advancing in years: and forgive the freedom with which I write to you, when I say that among many other causes for regretting your continued residence in a foreign country, it is by no means the least that you are in less favourable circumstances for turning your mind to those most important of all objects, the influence of which will extend when time shall be no more. I wish we could have a day or two's friendly talk on these matters, and I should like to embrace any convenient opportunity of sending you a book, now and then, as a trifling pledge of friendly regard, if you would really read it, and not think me impertinent in executing an intention which is prompted by a cordial solicitude for your happiness.

"I need not assure you that I have watched with unceasing anxiety over the interest of our great cause in France: but I must frankly confess, that the higher orders of the nation in which you reside, appear to me, generally speaking, for of course there are bright individual exceptions, to be devoid of all moral principle. The king has not gained in estimation, either as an

author and moralist, or a man of feeling, by his late publication; and I can better understand why the poor blacks do not come within the compass of a benevolence, which seems to be very limited indeed in its operation. Yet I am persuaded that, on the whole, our cause is gaining ground; and it is a gracious ordination of the Almighty that infirmities, and even vices, will often aid the accomplishment of a purpose which had little to hope for from higher and purer motives. On this ground you will always, therefore, serve us by descanting on the baseness as well as cruelty, and on the sordid and low avidity, of the supporters of the slave trade. Even the hypocrisy, with which the French government has pretended to be friendly to our measure, is the homage which vice pays to virtue. I believe, without being an enthusiast, and without expecting any miraculous interposition, that the Almighty will himself bring out an object, in his own way, if the rulers of the earth should continue deaf to the voice of justice and humanity.

"Various causes, one of them the having to fix in a new residence, and to remove into it all my books, papers, pamphlets, &c., have kept me so much out of the world (to use its language) for some time past, that I have not had the opportunity I should otherwise have enjoyed, of hearing how you are going on in health and comfort. Always shew, when you write to me, that you give me credit for being interested on these points: and believe me yours, &c.,

"W. WILBERFORCE."

"*P.S.*—A complaint in my eyes obliges me to write to you by another hand."

His royal highness the Duke of Gloucester ever took a warm interest in Sir Sidney Smith, as will be seen by the annexed kind and complimentary letter :—

THE DUKE OF GLOUCESTER TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Bagshot Park, September 14, 1816.

"DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"In looking over my papers this day I was much shocked at finding a letter of yours so long unanswered, having had the pleasure of receiving it at a moment when my time was entirely taken up, and when each day's post brought me a great number of letters. I mislaid it, and did not till this morning put my hand upon it.

"I now seize the earliest opportunity to return to you my thanks for it, and for your obliging congratulation upon my marriage, in which the duchess desires to unite with me; and I must request of you to express to Lady Smith and all her fair daughters my sense of the interest they are so good as to take in an event that has confirmed my happiness. I have now to congratulate you upon the success of the attack upon Algiers. This brilliant event reflects great credit upon Lord Exmouth, who appears to have concluded the operation with great skill and decision, and adds fresh lustre to our tars, who have indeed acted upon this occasion like themselves. In my last letter I entered fully into the subject of that terrible system of white slavery, and stated to you my sentiments respecting the mode of putting an end to it; I will, therefore, now merely express my hope, that your

health is perfectly good, and renew to you the assurance of the great regard with which I am,

"Dear Sir Sidney, very sincerely yours,

"WILLIAM FREDERICK."

None of the advocates for demolishing the nefarious traffic in white slaves, carried on along the Barbary shores, were more anxious and zealous than Sir Sidney Smith. He not only threw his whole heart and affection into the cause of these unhappy people, but came forward most liberally with his purse and his pen in their behalf; a great portion of his time was bestowed in pleading by letters and memorials addressed to all the sovereigns and potentates of Europe and Africa.

The following may serve for an example of the mode of addressing a Turkish bey.

"Vice-Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith, Knight Grand Cross of the Tower and Sword, Knight Commander of the Bath, Companion of the Imperial Ottoman Order of the Crescent, President of the Knights Liberators of the Slaves in Africa, to his Highness the High and Puissant Prince Bey, and Governor of [purposely obliterated]. Salut! Salut! Salut!

"HIGH AND MIGHTY SIR,

"The fame of your exalted virtues has reached us. The many instances of your justice, benevolence, and hospitality are known to us. We therefore address you in confidence, and offer you the opportunity of becoming a member of our illustrious society of knights liberators of slaves in Africa. This illustrious and highly noble association being composed of the

persons of the most exalted rank and highest endowments in the world at large, you will no doubt be as desirous to enroll yourself a member thereof, as the members are to see you belonging to their body. What certain detached members of our community have done in South Africa, at Algiers, in Tripoli, and in Egypt, towards the abolition of slavery among men, is well-known to you; what remains to be done is daily before your eyes; and we call upon you, as a good Mussulman whom we respect, and as the descendant of the illustrious and high-minded (name purposely obliterated), our respected and lamented friend, whose virtues and power you inherit, to aid us in this great work. You have been graciously pleased to liberate the white slaves, and we doubt not you will discourage the practice of buying and selling black men, in deference to the precepts of the Koran, and remembering the saying of Sidna Mohammed.

"In giving liberty to slaves you will follow his sublime example when he, at an advanced age, liberated as many as he was years old, hoping thereby to do a thing pleasing to God. In giving us the satisfaction of knowing that you do so, by a friendly letter, you will extend to us the supreme pleasure you will yourself feel, and merit the title we wish to extend to you, of a knight liberator. This letter having no other object, we wait your friendly answer, and the expression of your wish, that we should do something agreeable to you; which we are ready and willing to do at all times; and we pray God to exalt you in dignity, and to have you in his holy and especial keeping.

"Your true friend, W. Sidney Smith."

"*P. S.* We send to you a curious invention of art, in token of our high respect and cordial friendship, which, in all its infinite and multiplied variations of form and colour, still retains the one true central point of motion invisible, immovable, and unchangeable. Your wisdom will appreciate this hidden truth."

Sir Sidney's enigma is very mysterious, and probably will have puzzled the Prince Bey with all the advantage of the said invention of art *before* him, and perhaps have enlightened his wisdom to develop this *hidden truth.*

A great desire had been expressed by the knights liberators, to obtain the co-operation of the Ottoman Porte, and to prevail on him, as the head of the Turkish empire, either by force or persuasion, or by gold, to put down the practice of piracy, and of seizing, and selling into slavery, Christians and other white people, so prevalent in the states or pachalics of the Barbary coast, which were considered to be subject to the control of the Sultan of Constantinople. But a difficulty appears to have stood in the way. The English, some time ago, had forced the Dardanelles, and insulted the sultan before his own capital; and more recently they had burned his fleet in the bay of Navarino: how could they therefore venture to ask any favour from him? Of the former event their president was one of the principal agents, but the lapse of time might have wiped off the recollection of it; the latter being recent, remained fresh in the memory of the sublime Porte, and it would appear some instances of it had shewn themselves.

Sir Sidney, however, at length undertook to smooth down the anger of the sublime sultan, by first making an offer to him of a project which might prove of great utility; then proceeding with much ingenuity to satisfy him, that the burning of his ships in Navarino was an accident, and never intended; and that in fact it was owing entirely to the obstinacy and folly of Ibrahim Pasha; and he concludes with ingeniously introducing the subject of white slavery. It is a curious production, and worthy of the author, but too long for insertion here.

CHAPTER XII.

A VISIT TO WATERLOO.

SIR SIDNEY GOES TO BRUSSELS.—PROCEEDS TO WATERLOO.—IS PRESENT AT THE BATTLE.—CONGRATULATES THE DUKE.—HIS HUMANE CONDUCT IN REMOVING THE HELPLESS WOUNDED TO THE HOSPITALS, AT HIS OWN EXPENSE.—RETURNS TO PARIS.—RECEIVES THE INSIGNIA OF KNIGHTHOOD FROM THE DUKE AT A GRAND BANQUET.—WAS EMPLOYED BY THE AUTHORITIES OF PARIS ON A SPECIAL SERVICE.

1815.

THE military career of Vice-Admiral Sir Sidney Smith may be said to have closed on striking his flag, as second in command of the Mediterranean station; not that he lacked eagerness for further employment afloat, at an age not exceeding fifty, and of a vigorous constitution, but chief commands for a vice-admiral, not long created, were of rare occurrence, and the speedy obtaining of them hardly to be expected. Though Sir Sidney did not succeed in obtaining employment in his own line, he found an early opportunity of witnessing the greatest and most important land battle, that was ever fought, and the last, excepting a few skirmishing struggles, that his old Egyptian enemy was doomed to encounter.

We have seen that the commencement of Buonaparte's military career was at Toulon, where he had the

mortification of witnessing the destruction of a great part of the French fleet and of the naval arsenal by Sir Sidney Smith; and again, of experiencing the first signal check in his career, by a defeat at Acre, from the hands of the same active, energetic, and gallant officer; and now, the last finishing blow was about to be struck, by a different and invincible champion, —a blow that was to lay prostrate this great chieftain, never to rise again to disturb the peace of the world; and this blow was given at Waterloo by the Duke of Wellington.

It may not, perhaps, be generally known, that Sir Sidney Smith was present on this grand occasion. Such however is the fact. The thirst after dangerous enterprise, the love of adventure, and the spirit of knight-errantry, by which he was animated to the last, would not permit him to remain quietly at Brussels (where he had gone with his family), while great martial doings were on the eve of being enacted, at the distance of a few miles; thither the gallant admiral bent his way, as a spectator only, of the glorious achievement about to be accomplished by the combined British and allied armies, under the command of the greatest general of the age; but under whom Sidney could not, however mortifying it might be, bear a part beyond that of a looker-on. He did, however, after the battle was fought and won, undertake his part—a most honourable, humane, and benevolent part, which would seem to have escaped the knowledge of those who have written on the grand subject of Waterloo.

Among the mass of MSS. so abundantly supplied by Captain Arabin, was found a copy of the following

detached letter, not addressed to any one, and signed C. G. G. Kierulff.

C. G. G. KIERULFF TO ———

"Brussels, June 28th, 1815.

"SIR,

"I have the honour to inform you that, agreeable to your orders, I took your waggon with four horses to the place where the battle was fought. I arrived there at half-past four o'clock, P.M. The first six wounded I found were Dutchmen, whom I sent to a village to be dressed, as some of our surgeons were there; on the return of the waggon I sent five more, two Dutch, two Belgic, and one Frenchman to the Jesuit hospital at Bruxelles, as it was too late for them to be dressed in the village; and before I left the field, through the assistance of the boors (to whom I promised two francs for each wounded man they would bring me), I had collected eighteen Frenchmen, whom I placed under straw, it being impracticable to get them into any house so late at night; and I am happy to state to you that on the morning of the 21st, when I arrived on the ground, I was informed that sixty-seven wounded were brought to different villages, where I went and found that the Boors had kindly fulfilled my wishes, by washing their wounds and dressing them as well as they could with the shirts which I had stript from the dead men for that purpose. I was also informed that a farmer had brought to the Jesuit hospital (in two waggons) sixteen men. About one o'clock on the 22nd, I found in two small huts four

British soldiers of the Guards, one of the 30th, and six Hanoverians who had not been dressed since they were wounded; I sent immediately two surgeons of the Guards to dress them. I met these surgeons afterwards, who informed me that these men had been dressed and sent to Bruxelles.

"I reported to the inspector of hospitals, the names of the villages where those wounded men are, as well as to different surgeons I met; before I left town I called at the Jesuits' hospital, where I had sent the five wounded men on the 20th, and I informed the inspector of the very great want of conveyance for transporting the wounded to Bruxelles, and I am happy to add that through this means he has sent fifty waggons and carts.

"I also went to the place where the Prussians had the first engagement, and with the aid of Boors and some Prussian soldiers, I had the wounded (about thirty) conveyed to a village about a league and a half from the main road; these wounded had a surgeon to attend them.

"It is impossible for me to convey to you the gratitude of the soldiers for your humanity, their blessings for you and your family came from their grateful hearts. I had also the heartfelt pleasure to partake of their blessings, for my endeavours to fulfil that duty you had commanded me for.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

(Signed) "C. G. G. KIERULFF."

"P.S. Immediately after the wounded were found, they had some bread and water, which I bought of the

Boors, and the wounded that could not be accommodated in the houses the first night, I had well covered with straw. I had also the Boors to bury the dead men and horses; on the 22nd, with permission of Lady Smith, I called on the minister of state, Baron Capellan, to inform him that, on the field of battle and in the road, lay more than three thousand dead men and horses; on the 23rd, I also called on this good and noble man, to inform him that the inspector of hospitals told me, that he was in want of two hundred and eighty waggons, besides what the British government could send, to convey the wounded to Bruxelles, which the minister promised to send.

"It is to your humanity the following were saved:—

June 20th.—Dutch, 8; Belgians, 2; French, 1.
June 21st.—British, 4; Hanoverians, 6; of the 30th, 1; French, 67; Prussians, 30.
June 22nd.—Hanoverians, 3; Prussians, 12.—Total, 134."

At first, this seemed as an official letter, and Mr. Kierulff as some one engaged by the staff of the army department; yet, at the same time, it bore so strongly on the benevolent character of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith, the subject to which it relates being one so congenial with his feelings—he having himself seen the field of slaughter and the maimed bodies that the victorious and pursuing army could not wholly remove, owing to the rapid pursuit of the flying enemy—that it became evident those left on the field would not escape the attention of our kind-hearted hero, ever ready, regardless of trouble or expense, to relieve the misery of suffering humanity. On these grounds Sir

Sidney and no other could be the author of this charitable deed, which, after three days continuance, gave relief to, and probably saved the lives of, one hundred and thirty-four human beings ; and this opinion was the more confirmed by the mention made in Mr. Kierulff's letter, of his obtaining the *permission of Lady Smith* to procure supplies.*

Sir Sidney Smith, at all times and under all circumstances, carried his generosity and benevolence far beyond the bounds of prudence, and frequently to the distress of himself and his family. He had no idea of husbanding his resources, which were never superfluous, and, by want of management, were rarely under his control. The following character by one who knew him well, is a picture from the life, with the lights and shadows strongly marked :—

"That deep-seated vice, which with equal power freezes the miser's heart and inflames the ruffian's passions, was to Sir Sidney a total stranger ; he was always rich and always poor ; frugality fled before the carelessness of his mind, and left him too frequently the victim of his liberality; and of course, in many instances, a monument of ingratitude. His character was entirely transparent ; it had no opaque qualities, his were open, his prepossessions palpable, his failings obvious. He was a friend, ardent but indiscriminate, even to blindness. He lost his dignity by the inju-

* Since writing the above, I have ascertained from Captain Arabin that my opinion was correct. He says, "It was Sir Sidney who engaged the waggons to carry off the wounded to the hospitals, after the battle of Waterloo. He caused many to be relieved at his own expense, but I do not know what the numbers may have been."

diciousness of his selections; and sunk his consequence in the pliability of his nature. To the first he was a dupe, to the latter an instrument."

He appears not to have taken the precaution of estimating what the expense would amount to, of any undertaking or project he had made up his mind to execute. The battle of Waterloo was an event of too stirring and important a nature not to excite the warmest and most ardent feelings of Sir Sidney's heart, and as the day approached and Brussels became crowded with amateurs, it was quite in character that our hero should contrive to be in the neighbourhood; though not exactly suitable that his wife and daughters should have accompanied him, as it seems they did; and thus, setting apart the risk and inconvenience, occasioned him a considerable increase of expense, and put him, as he has himself recorded, to great embarrassment.

In this epoch of his life the copy of a letter, or rather fragment of a letter, turns up among his MSS., beginning at its page 5 and concluding at page 8. There is no address to it, but from that part where mention is made of a *sword*, it seems probable that it was written to some influential member of the corporation of the city of London. Imperfect as it is, that which remains is too curious and characteristic to be omitted.

* * * * "expenses, after twelve years, having neither time nor paper to keep accounts, with the enemy's red feathers never out of my *eyesight*, and generally within shot;—*they acknowledge that historical fact hour by*

hour, however it may be out of mind elsewhere. It is my duty now, to take care that my sword, with the inscription on it, which you well know, and which is, under all circumstances, so *invaluable* to me, is not melted down for its nominal value, and yet that must be its fate, if it is in my possession when I am asked upon honour to surrender all my property to pay my debts, *as I shall be;* therefore, rather than part with it to profane hands, *I place it in deposit in yours,* begging the city of London to save my credit so far, by sending the nominal, or at least, the intrinsic value to Messrs. Coutts, to my credit account, that I may not be accused of cheating my creditors at Brussels of it, they having lent me the means of moving onwards towards the enemy, when they were within a few miles of the gates, and of sending my family into the rear, if my inspection of the state of things, beyond the Forest of Soignys, should decide me to indicate that direction to them.

"Meeting Sir G. Berkley returning from the field, wounded, and thinking his sword a better one to meet my old antagonist *on horseback,* I borrowed it; things went ill and looked worse at that time in the afternoon of the 18th of June, 1815. I stemmed the torrent of the disabled and *givers-in* the best way I could; was now and then jammed among broken waggons by a *drove* of disarmed Napoleonist janissaries; and finally reached the Duke of Wellington's person, and rode in with him from St. Jean to Waterloo; thus, though I was not allowed to have any of the fun, not to be one too many (*vulgo,* a fifth wheel in a coach,) I had the heartfelt gratification of being the first

Englishman, that was not in the battle, who shook hands with him before he got off his horse, and of drinking his health at his table; a supper I shall no more forget than I can the dinner at Neuilly, when Fouché came out to arrange the quiet entry into Paris, *without more bloodshed;* or the banquet the Duke considerately and kindly gave to the Knights of the Bath, when I received at his hands the second rank of the order of the Bath; the fees of which, by the bye, I hope my country will please to pay, for I have not wherewithal; therefore my banner, complicated as it is, with the arms of Sicily and Portugal on it, granted by the sovereign in record of "gratitude," (their own word) will never be in Westminster Abbey, till my hatchment (achievement) may be placed there by the *ultimate* favour of my country.

"I cannot help feeling, that if I am not to be rewarded as others, and as I have been taught to expect, it would be but fair *to place me as I should be if I never had been, or done anything in the service.* Had I chosen to sit down early in life, with a life annuity of my present nominal income, I am told (but I don't understand these things) that by selling my estate before it was involved, I might have purchased that income for the trouble of walking into an insurance-office, without going to the east or the west, through storms and showers of hail, lead, or iron: you gentlemen in the city know best how that is; all I know is, that I have to sit down at the end of this long contest, without a home in my own country, or the means of living out of it. I have got *to Paris,* the object of my thoughts and hopes, and *in the way I wished,* with a

victorious army; but I don't see how I am to get out of it creditably, without the friendly aid of my *fellow-citizens* of London, by a LOAN, if my country grants me that. Yours faithfully,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The banquet alluded to, in Sir Sidney's fragment, was given by the Duke of Wellington to the Knights of the Bath in the Palais d'Elisée in Paris, at the end of the same year, when the allies were in full possession of the capital. The occasion was the "Investiture of Sir William Sidney Smith with the insignia of knight commander of the most honourable Order of the Bath, by the Duke of Wellington, which took place on the 29th December, 1815. It had been gazetted on the occasion of commemorating the auspicious termination of the long and arduous contests, in which the empire had been engaged, and of marking, in an especial manner, his majesty's gracious sense of the valour, perseverance, and devotion manifested by the officers of his majesty's forces by sea and land."

Investiture of Sir Sidney Smith with the insignia of Commander of the most honourable order of the Bath by the Duke of Wellington, K.G., K.G.C.B., &c., &c., at Paris.

"Paris, 29th December, 1815.

"His Grace the Duke of Wellington having received the gracious commands of His Royal Highness the Prince Regent of the United Kingdoms, through his Royal Highness the Duke of York, Grand Master of

the ancient and most honourable Order of the Bath, to invest His Excellency Vice-Admiral Sir W. Sidney Smith, knight commander grand cross of the royal military order of the sword, with the insignia of commander of the aforesaid, his grace fixed on the 29th December for the performance of the ceremony, which took place accordingly at the Palace Elysée Bourbon, the knights grand crosses, knights commanders, and companions being present, as also his Grace the Duke of Richmond, and the Right Honourable the Earl of Hardwick, both knights of the most noble Order of the Garter.

"At six o'clock his excellency the commander elect arrived at the Palais Bourbon, and being conducted and supported into the presence of the noble duke, representing the sovereign on the occasion, by the two junior grand crosses Sir James Kempt and Sir Henry Colville, after the usual reverences in advancing (the knight elect being already a knight, the usual ceremony of dubbing him as such was formally dispensed with), his grace proceeded, according to the order of his royal highness the grand master, which he first read, and invested his excellency with the insignia of the order, after which his grace embraced his excellency twice most cordially, with every demonstration of the feelings of esteem and regard, feelings which the Knights, grand crosses, and commanders, many of whom had served in Egypt as his juniors in rank, also testified; and it certainly may be said to be a proud day for England, when such a scene took place in the evacuated palace of Buonaparte, between these two British officers of the two services, one of whom first

checked, and the other of whom finally closed the career of that ambitious chieftain.

"The banquet being announced, his grace desired His Excellency the British Ambassador, Sir Charles Stuart, K.G.C.B., to conduct the new knight commander to the hall of the same, where the members of the order, including some foreigners of distinction, amongst whom Don Michael Alava, General Muffling, and Count Démétrius Valsamachi, a nobleman of the Ionian islands, were served most sumptuously in the usual style of the duke's elegant hospitality. After the health of the king and prince-regent had been drank, the duke gave the health of 'Sir Sidney Smith,' the company hereupon rose and followed his grace's example in greeting the new commander with the most cordial acclamations. When silence was restored, Sir Sidney Smith rose, and addressed the company nearly as follows, (we were too far to hear every word, the reverberation of the arched and stuccoed roof occasioning some of the sounds to be lost,) but we can vouch for the accuracy of our statement as to what we do venture to record in substance and nearly verbatim :—

"'My lords, noble knights, grand crosses, commanders, and companions! I should not do justice to my feelings were I not to endeavour to express them in returning you my thanks for the honour you have done me by this reception, at the same time I cannot do justice to them by any mode of expression I can make use of. The language of *compliment* must die on the lips of any man, in the presence of the *Duke of Wellington*, first from the inadequacy of all language to express what every man must feel when speaking of

such a highly distinguished chief, next, from the recollection of the noble simplicity of his character which disdains it. It will, I trust, be readily believed, that I must be most truly gratified to be invested by a knight of such high renown and glorious achievements, and more so in this particular place,* and in an assembly of so many illustrious and highly distinguished knights commanders and companions. A combination of circumstances, which could only happen in the present times, and are mainly owing to the successful result of the battle of *Waterloo.* Noble and illustrious knights, I beg you to accept the expression of my humble thanks for the honour you have done me.'

"The Duke of Wellington having acceded to Sir Sidney Smith's request to be allowed to propose a toast to the company, he proceeded to say,—'I beg leave to call to remembrance, that this day (the 29th of December) is the anniversary of a reunion of illustrious knights of various orders, which took place at Vienna, where many sovereigns were present, and when the toast I shall have the honour to propose to you, was drunk by them, with a manifestation of their conviction that the object of it intimately concerned knighthood, as such, in all nations. I beg leave to propose the health and deliverance of *the White Slaves in the Barbary States.*' The toast was received with the most marked approbation, and drunk with the usual demonstration thereof, by three times three regular and hearty cheers, when the company adjourned to the ball-room (preceded, on the indication of the Duke of Wellington, by

* The Elisée Bourbon palace, to which Buonaparte retired after the battle of Waterloo.

the new knight-commander, supported by his Britannic majesty's ambassador, in the same order as on entrance) where a brilliant assembly of ladies, English, French, Spanish, Russian, &c. continued to increase till a late hour. His royal highness the Duke of Berry, the French and other foreign ministers were also present, and all joined in cordial congratulations of, and compliments to, the cosmopolite chieftain, president of the knights liberators of the white slaves in Africa; who, we observed, was decorated with the various orders of the nations he has contributed his endeavours to release from the yoke of the former inhabitant of the palace wherein this extraordinary assembly was held; now a prisoner on the top of a rock in the Southern Atlantic. These circumstances reminded the Parisians of the prophetic inscription left by Sir Sidney Smith on the window-shutter of the Temple prison, when he escaped, of which many copies were taken and are now again in circulation, and read with great interest since the accomplishment has taken place."

But the Duke of Wellington had required some special service from Sir Sidney Smith, six months previous to the enjoyment of the banquet, and the investiture. All Paris exhibited a scene of joy at the restoration of Louis XVIII. to the throne of his ancestors; but it was deemed expedient that the towns and villages through which his majesty's progress would lie, should be prepared for his reception, and the Duke of Wellington being consulted, together with certain of the constituted authorities of the capital, Admiral Sir Sidney Smith was named as a most proper officer to proceed, with certain French officers, on a mission of

this kind. The reports from the French officers are long, and might be interesting at the time, and to the parties concerned, but it will be sufficient here to state generally, that nothing could exceed the conduct of, and the flattering attention paid to, Sir Sidney, not only by the constituted authorities, but by the inhabitants generally. The two principal towns or cities he visited were Arras and Amiens. A glance at the two journals of these places will suffice.

"Admiral Sir Sidney Smith left Cambrai with the Count Louis de Thury, chevalier de la garde du roi, et le Baron de Breda, ancien officier émigré. In all the villages the admiral had to pass, the entire population was full of joy since the restoration of the king; all labour was suspended, and joy was universal. At Bouversy they were stopped for a moment to see the inhabitants drinking to the health of the king. At Bapaume L'Amiral Sidney Smith was delighted with the shout of joy of the inhabitants, their devotion to the king, and with the frantic joy with which the presence of the admiral inspired them, excited by the graceful manner in which he received them, the words of peace which he announced to them, the union and friendship of his own government, of which he assured them.

"Here, however, news was brought that the garrison of Arras had made a sortie, had killed some of the inhabitants, and had pillaged many houses. The admiral instantly set off, in the middle of the night, took with him Messrs. de Thury and Breda, the mayor of Bapaume, and one of the townsmen. They arrived before daylight, and the admiral betook himself to the citadel

to view its position, its strength, the means of attack, and the persons in employ, for the security of the town. Nothing could be worse than he found the state of the garrison, from the commandant of the citadel to the lowest officer; and had it not been for the arrival of Count du Bourg Butler, governor of the city, with a body of two thousand men, the utmost confusion, robbery, and slaughter would probably have arisen. The officer in command of the citadel, and those under him, made offers of capitulation, to which the commandant of the city replied :—

"'D'Arras, June 29th, 1815.

"'You come to me to present your letter of to-day. You shall learn to know, sir, that the mayor of the city had no authority since my entry into the city. Your assumption of his authority is as displaced as the silence you have kept at the summons which I made to you yesterday. It is you who, following faithfully the system of humbug and deception, so familiar to the satellites of Buonaparte, have only employed that to deceive me yesterday and to-day. Now you wish to capitulate; that is no longer a question. I have cautioned you of it many times. You must submit at discretion—lay down your arms—leave the citadel—the king is merciful—but he alone has the right to decide your lot.

"The Governor of the city,

"Ct. Du Bourg Butler."

"To those who occupy the Citadel of the City."

"All being put to rights, Sir Sidney, accompanied, as before, by Messrs. Thury and De Breda, set out for

Amiens. They arrived at Albert on the 1st of July, where Sir Sidney remained a day, the others proceeded to Amiens. The garrison here had doubts, and the commandant of the garrison, who declared to the bearer of a flag of truce that he should not submit to any terms of surrender, until he should have received orders from the provisional government, on whom he depended. On Sir Sidney's joining at Amiens, and seeing no signs of immediate success, the admiral decided to depart for Péronne, there to learn how matters stood. The next morning he learnt the capitulation of Paris, which determined him to rejoin head-quarters, to give an account of his expedition. 'On the 6th of July, arriving at head-quarters at Neuilly, he found there assembled the Prince de Talleyrand and the Duc d'Otrante, on a visit to the Duke of Wellington."

The following day King Louis made his entry into Paris, and Buonaparte had stolen away to the sea-coast; and, after vain attempts to make terms, surrendered at discretion to Capt. Maitland, of the Bellerophon, in Basque Roads; being thence conveyed to the Northumberland, bearing the flag of Admiral Sir George Cockburn, with a small suite, and proceeding quietly in her to St. Helena, where he finished his splendid, but bad and unenviable career in obscurity.

This chapter cannot be better concluded than by the insertion of an interesting letter, written about this period, by Mr. Beecroft, who accompanied the forty-six French officers that Sidney released from slavery, at Constantinople, and of whose conduct there has already been given an affecting account from Baron

Hammer. The interview which Mr. Beecroft had with the mother of Buonaparte is not the least interesting.

COMMANDER CHARLES BEECROFT TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Hatfield, Herts, November 4th, 1814.

"MY DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"I wrote to Lord Melville, according to your desire. I am sorry he gives me no hopes. Allow me to request that you will be pleased to write to me, enclosing a letter to his lordship. I will present it myself: it may, it ought to, have the desired effect.

"I have the honour to inform you, that I arrived in the harbour of Toulon on the 8th of May, 1799, with the forty-six French officers (and twenty-four, Commodore Ball sent on board at Malta) that you liberated from slavery at Constantinople. Our voyage was tedious and boisterous; the officers were always, however, in high spirits, enjoyed perfect health during their voyage, and arrived in their native country free from sickness of any kind (*vide* Vallonque's letter). We were ordered under quarantine for thirty days, during which time Buonaparte's mother arrived from Corsica; she was ordered to perform ten days. She appeared sensibly affected with the narrative that Colonel Pascal Vallonque gave her relative to the sufferings and liberation of these officers. She often conversed with me on the subject; and always spoke of you with apparent heartfelt praise; and, as far as was in her power, shewed me daily every mark of distinguished kindness. On the morning that she left Toulon she sent Colonel Vallonque on board to me; I waited on her according to her wishes; she again thanked me for the manner I had conducted my-

self towards her gallant countrymen, and assured me that if the fortune of war should cast me in the power of France, she would be happy to exert her influence in procuring my immediate exchange. I thanked her; helped her into the diligence; she shook hands, and away she went. In making a report of this kind, I consider it my duty to render justice to the then reigning government of France: I received a most striking proof of their feelings, and, above all, their sentiments of you; I was treated during my stay at Toulon with unexampled civility and attention; allowed unprecedented indulgencies, and the governor of Toulon told me that he had orders to furnish me and my ship with every requisite. On the eve of my departure the French fleet was chased into Toulon by Lord Keith. Political causes now detained me. Nicholson, in the meantime, arrived with prisoners, all in good health, taken by you during and after the memorable siege of St. Jean d'Acre. And now, my dear and most honoured sir, I have discharged, to the best of my ability, your directions; and allow me to entreat of you to write to me as soon as possible.

"I have made every effort with the mercantile world to procure a command. I have not succeeded, owing to my not being able to purchase the share of a ship. Be pleased to present my kind and respectful compliments to Lady Smith and family. Farewell, God bless you; write to me; and believe me ever to remain, with respect and gratitude,

"Your most faithful and devoted servant,

"CHARLES BEECROFT."

CHAPTER XIII.

THE KNIGHTS OF THE TEMPLE.

THE OCCASION OF HIS FIRST INTRODUCTION INTO THE ORDER OF KNIGHTS TEMPLARS.—RECEIVES THE CROSS WORN BY RICHARD CŒUR DE LION.—THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE ORDER IN PARIS.—SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF THE ORDER.—HE REFUSES THE APPOINTMENT OF THE LATE GRAND PRIOR JACQUES MOLAY, BUT ACCEPTS THAT OF REGENT, WHICH HE RETAINS TILL HIS DEATH.

1799—1840.

It was a general opinion with the public that the pension of 1,000*l.*, which was granted to Sir Sidney for the defence of Acre, was by no means an adequate reward even for that alone, all his future services remaining unnoticed, except by an award of the second order of the Bath (K.C.B.), bestowed on officers for good but ordinary services; he had also in due time the rank of colonel of marines. His several services have been stated, and he constantly applied to each succeeding First Lord of the Admiralty for a continuance of them but without success. He was too benevolent and charitable to economize his finances, and appears indeed to have known no other value of money than the distribution of it to some useful, benevolent, or charitable purpose; the consequence was that he was always poor, and mostly in debt, which in the long run pressed so hard upon him, as to require a residence

abroad, and to induce him finally to fix upon France as the country of his abode. It may be said, indeed, that from this period, the end of 1815, when the king was restored, and Buonaparte's security finally effected, Sir Sidney mostly made Paris his residence.

It was here in fact that he carried on the vast correspondence with the knights liberators, and also with another order of knighthood, of which he became a member, invested at the fountain head, in a curious and romantic manner, the history of which is as follows.

The first introduction of Sir Sidney Smith into the society of the order of Knights Templars, appears to have been occasioned by an official visit to Cyprus, and an accidental piece of service he had an opportunity of performing in that island, by putting down an insurrection of janissaries and others, in the year 1799, (the same in which the siege of St. Jean d'Acre was raised,) and for which service the archbishop of the island bestowed upon him the Cross of St. John of Jerusalem, the same which had been worn by King Richard I. of England, in the days of the Crusaders; and which Sir Sidney, by his last will, "gave and bequeathed unto the *Order of the Templars*, to be kept in deposit in the treasury thereof, from whence it originally came into King Richard's hands, and to be worn by the Grand Master and his successors in perpetuity."

The following is Sir Sidney's own account of his obtaining this cross, which he wore during his life, and which is now in possession of the convent of the *Order of St. John of Jerusalem*, at Paris. The paper

is in Sir Sidney's own writing, but has no address; though judging by the appeal made to *your lordship*, on a point of conscience and of religion, it was probably meant for the English bishop resident in Paris, at that time, Dr. Luscomb:—

"In the exercise of my duty (says Sir Sidney), representing the king in his dignity, as his minister plenipotentiary at the Ottoman Porte, and being decorated by Sultan Selim with his imperial aigrette, and with a commission to command his forces by *sea and land*, on the coast of Syria and Egypt, consequently representing that sovereign in his authority, in the absence of the grand vizier (his highness being the one to exert it when present), and as the Capitan Pasha was expressly put personally under my orders, I thought it my duty to land at Cyprus, for the purpose of restoring subordination, and the hierarchy of authority, on a sudden emergency, which arose from the bursting out of an insurrection of janissaries, Arnauts and Albanians, in the year 1799, after the raising of the siege of Acre. The insurgents having murdered their local immediate chief in the island, the Greek population was at their mercy, and under dismay and terror. I landed on the instant, and exercising the delegated authority of Sultan Selim, as if he had been there in person, and wearing his imperial aigrette, or plume of triumph, I restored order by re-establishing the hierarchy of authority and causing the disbanded troops to go down to the beach, like sly slinking wolves, foiled in their bloodthirsty career, and there to embark, leaving the island,

tranquil and free from the previous apprehension of plunder and massacre.

"On visiting the venerable Greek archbishop afterwards, at the capital (Nicosia), to prevent him from disgracing himself by a visit to me, which I understood was his intention, his grace met me outside the city gates. I of course dismounted to receive his welcome and animated harangue, at the termination of which he embraced me paternally, and, at the same moment, adroitly threw the Templar's Cross, which he wore as an episcopal decoration on his breast, around the neck of his English guest, saying, 'This belonged to an Englishman formerly, and I now restore it. It belonged to Saint Richard, '*Agio Ricardo*,' surnamed '*Cœur de Lion*,' who left it in this church at his departure, and it has been preserved in our treasury ever since; eighteen archbishops, my predecessors, have signed to the receipt thereof, in succession. I now make it over to you, in token of our gratitude for saving all our lives—the archbishops, ecclesiastics, laymen, citizens, and peasantry.' With other complimentary expressions, I found myself thus, in the consideration of the Greek population, invested with ecclesiastical authority, which also the Turkish authorities, and comparatively minor Mahomedan population, respected as such; and I was thus enabled to quell a Greek insurrection by my good offices between the conflicting parties, disarming the Greek insurgents, and sending them home with their grievances redressed.

"'You are aware that the Grand Master of the Knights Templars was at Cyprus when he received the mandate of the king of France, Philip the Fair, and the contem-

porary pope to go to Paris, and justify himself and the order against the foul charges of two apostate knights, suborned by those who speculated on their spoils from confiscation. The grand master never returned, but was burnt near the *Pont Neuf*, with other knights, then falsely accused and unjustly dealt by. You may not be aware that the surviving knights, justly despising the impotent bull that pretended to abolish an order, not created by, and totally independent of, the papal authority, the forced terms of which bull '*suspendo in perpetuo*,' admitted the impossibility of abolition and extinction, and forthwith, that a new grand master was elected in secret, and has continued to maintain the order in due form and consistence ever since.

"Thus it has not ceased to exist; and the Grand Master and his council recognizing me as a new Knight Templar elect, duly received me, and voting me to be qualified by the above antecedents, recorded me as Grand Prior of England, an authority which Richard I. exercised after he had become the purchaser of the land of the order in Cyprus.

"I have ceded this dignity to a most illustrious and a more worthy personage, (nevertheless I do not thereby cease to belong to the order, having received a higher dignity therein,)—and it is unquestionably a holy order, considering its origin and attributes among the primitive Christians; and considering that I did not understand the whole of the Greek archbishop's speech, at the moment of the investiture, I may have been ordained without being quite aware of it; and if so, or under the doubt in my mind, which suddenly arises by learning that the Grand Prior of Portugal is a

candidate for church preferment, which proves him to be an ecclesiastic; I hesitate to take the oath as tendered to me (to enable me to receive my half-pay) in its precise form, requiring me to assert that I am not in holy orders; my appeal to your Lordship is, to have my mind satisfied on the historically recorded quality of the Knights Templars in England, previous (probably) to my taking the said required oath."

Sir Sidney having thus legitimately, it may be said, become a Templar, was ever after a most zealous member of the "Order of the Temple." The white cloak, marked on the left breast with a red cross, always hung in his bed-room. The rank which he held in the order was high, as well in England as in France.

In a letter addressed to a friend, dated 28th October 1839, from Paris, he says,

"I am most anxious to leave Paris before another insurrection; though as Regent of the 'Order of Orient' and of the 'Milice du Temple,' denominated the Order of the Temple, I must always have a *pied à terre* here, a *residence magistral.*"

Sir Sidney being at Paris when he was made Grand Cross of the Bath, received this address—"*La Loge chapitrale de l'Amitié de Paris, à l'Amiral Sir Sidney Smith.*"

[Translation.] "Illustrious brother! It is with most sincere satisfaction we are informed that the Queen of England, on her coronation, has raised you to the rank of Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath, and that by this mark of high favour, her majesty has acknowledged your eminent services, too long forgotten.

"Every circumstance which relates to you becomes personally interesting to each member of our society, of which you are so deservedly considered '*Le venerable d'honneur.*' Accept then, most illustrious brother, our sincere congratulations on this distinguished testimony of esteem, which has been bestowed upon you by a young sovereign.

"Nothing can add to *our* feelings of admiration for your talents (the usefulness of which is not confined alone to your own country) nor increase our veneration for your noble character, or our gratitude for your philanthropic devotion to the progress of general civilization."

Here follow the signatures, amongst which is the name of the French *avocat* who defended Marshal Ney!

This address was considered by both French and English as a great compliment to be paid by that party, and to an Englishman!

The letter of M. Raoul proves the great respect in which his memory was held by the fraternity of the Knights Templars.

M. RAOUL TO MR. SPENCER SMITH.

"Ordre du Temple, Paris, 24 Aoust, 1841.

"MONSIEUR,

"Je suis, on ne peut plus, flatté de la demande que vous avez bien voulu me faire; et j'y réponds en vous adressant copie des discours que j'ai prononcé au nom de l'ordre du Temple sur la tombe de notre illustre et venerable régent.

"Permettez moi à mon tour de renouveller ici une prière que j'ai déjà faite à Mr. Arabin. C'est d'ob-

tenir un buste en plâtre de notre digne confrère pour le placer dans notre convent [*sic ?*] magistral, en regard de celui du G. M. (Grand Maître) Jacques de Molay. A cette prière je joins celle de nous donner copie, certifiée par l'éxécuteur testamentaire ou par vous, Mr., de la partie du testament de l'amiral où il mentionne l'ordre, dont il étoit un des plus fervents soutiens. Ce temoignage de son affection sera déposé dans nos archives.

"J'ose croire que vous aurez la bonté d'exaucer cette double prière, dont le Temple vous aura une grande reconnoissance.

"Agréez je vous prie, Mr. &c.,

(Signé) J. M. RAOUL."

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO HIS ROYAL HIGHNESS THE DUKE OF SUSSEX.

A BROTHER KNIGHT TEMPLAR.

✠

"Paris, Rue d'Anjou, St. Honore, No. 6,
8 February, 1830.

"DEAR AND MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR AND BROTHER,

"As I cannot obtain any satisfactory account of your royal highness's health in answer to my indirect inquiries, I have determined to ask it direct. The weather is against invalids, but as a thaw has come, after a third hard frost, which has frozen the Seine for the second time this winter, it is to be supposed the same may have happened in England, as the wind is not from the N.E., and I will hope for its good effect on our illustrious Grand Prior.

"I am induced to entertain and encourage this hope, not only on account of so highly valued a friend, but because your royal highness's full energies are called for in these times, which, though not so critical as they have been, are wanted to consolidate the good to be achieved in a state of peace.

"The speech from the throne alludes to the final settlement of Greece, as well as the pacification, and that my brother knights here, as well as myself, consider as concerning our order essentially, and affording an opening for its resurrection and consolidation under the auspices of a liberal nation. Greece can never be a monarchy without a wealthy and respectable aristocracy. The population of that country, long in slavery, and now rising from its ashes, does not afford the materials for its formation. The religion of the Templars is the nearest to that of the Greek primitive church, being such as Christianity was when the four first popes resided at Antioch, before the Bishop of Rome, who sat second in rank in the council held at Chalcedon before that prelate attributed supremacy to himself. The present Greek Church is sadly deficient in education and knowledge, even of its own history. Its military chiefs are turbulent, lawless, insubordinate freebooters, such as the *Cimbri* were, and cannot of themselves form an enlightened senate. Enlightened men of other countries, without excluding any,' can alone introduce arts and sciences, and prevent any one European nation from such a degree of preponderance as to excite the jealousy of the others. The Emperor of Russia, in withdrawing his objection to a prince of one of the contracting parties to the treaty of the 6th

of July, does not consent to the removal of his agent, the present president. This, we are given to understand here, makes Prince Leopold hesitate to accept a crown where he would find a permanent foreign influence in possible opposition, with great *local* following in the same line; but the Grand Prior Anglicanus, with the *followers he would have*, might establish a *counterpoise* that would prevent the effect of an exclusive foreign influence. Capo d'Istria, with considerable talent, allowed patriotism, and much personal ambition, might be content with the Grand Prior of *all Turkey*, and swarm Greek subjects from every part of that empire, and many there are in Asiatic *Ionia* and other parts of Asia, to repeople the depopulated country, not to be erected into a kingdom without a sufficient number of subjects, in its present state, to give it any weight in the scale of nations and maintain its independence. It is a mistake to suppose that the Porte cares for the *personal* subjection of any class, not of the Mahometan religion, beyond the revenue arising from the capitation tax; that is a given sum, and that and more would be secured to it by a treaty with a crowned *Grand Maître*. The islands alone, under an intelligent and just government, would be able to furnish the sum. This is the last and reserved part of the plan. The *first* is, in case Prince Leopold should decline on account of the permanent presence of the present president, that your royal highness should procure the offer, and accept it as a preliminary step. In this hope I subscribe myself your royal highness's affectionate and obedient

"GULIELMUS BARBARICUS."

"6th February, 1830.

"P.S.—A circumstance not to be lost sight of in contemplating the consequences of the resurrection of the order in the Levant, is, that its existence as a Christian military power is not now to be established in the sultan's mind, but is necessarily in the knowledge of the historian and men of suitable education in all the public offices of the Porte, by oral tradition and official documents in their archives. Much as the Turks object to novelties and innovations, such as the new 'Kingdom of Greece,' they are attached to *precedent*, and a letter from the Grand Master of the Order of the Temple would find a suitable reception, and be met by an answer in due form, according to precedent, if not in the Ottoman Turkish records, in those of Sultan Selim, the first brought from Cairo, Saladin's royal residence, when he absorbed Egypt by a *nominal* conquest, very glad to perform a few acts of sovereignty, such as hanging the former government at the town gate, and withdrawing with a *dwindled* army from an overwhelming population, similar only in *religion*, but with another *language* and other interests, leaving a *single* Turk, pasha, as *nominal* government during the good pleasure of the divan, composed of native lawyers or imported slaves (Mamelukes), the real governors of the country, as possessing the villages and fiefs, the real sources of revenue. This, in fact, was the state of things till very recent times, Murad and Ibrahim Beys sharing the supreme power when the French army landed in 1798. The Ottoman Porte, on the recovery of the territory by the effect of the combined operation, appointed a pasha as formerly. The person selected

was the kahaia of my officially subordinate colleague the then Capitan Pasha. He was dispossessed by the present viceroy, Mehemed Ali, who afterwards got rid of the Mamelukes, his instruments in that rebellion, as they were on the point of dispossessing him. This deposed pasha is now the Seraskier commanding-in-chief the moveable army under the Grand Vizier, who commands everything as first minister holding the Sultan's seal. He is now my volunteer correspondent, recalling to my recollection our cordial co-operation and intimacy at Aboukir as the ground of it. He would do anything I might be able to convince him was for the good of the state, and it would not be difficult to demonstrate to him that a certain revenue, without their resorting to their vexatious and ruinous way of collecting it, would go far to silence the clamour for pay around him, or allow that which is now devoted to an expensive navy to go to the army: a Greek subsidiary navy supplying the place of the former by treaty with the G. M. O. T., king of Greece, an ally as much interested, that Don Cossacks and Mogay Crim Tartars should not establish autocracy in place of a limited constitutional monarchy."

History tells us that the destruction of the ancient Templars resulted from the combined craftiness of Philip IV. of France, surnamed Philippe le Bel, or Philip the Fair, and Pope Clement V., in 1305. Two degraded Templars, whose names are unworthy of record, being thrown into prison, concerted a scheme to be laid before the king, containing charges against the Order of every species of vice and immorality, and accusing them of heresy. On such loose grounds, and from two such

villains, royal letters under seal were issued to all governors and officers of the crown, with orders to arm themselves and all under their command, on that day month after the date of the orders, and then to open them in the night, and to act according to the directions they contained; the result was, that almost every Templar in France, with their grand master, Jacques de Molay, was taken into custody; their property of every description being seized and confiscated. The Temple of Paris, the chief sanctuary of the Order in France, was broken open, and entered by the king in person. An act of accusation immediately issued. The king wrote to the Pope, to announce to him the proceedings, and requiring his co-operation; he wrote also to the King of England, Edward II., then on the throne, who was not inclined to believe the slanderous accounts against the Knight Templars; but letters from the Pope convinced him of his error, and he joined the confederacy; after which the English Templars were all seized and thrown into prison. Examinations were conducted, and confessions extorted by torture. For three years the French king, the pope, the cardinals, the bishops, and relentless priests carried on their infamous proceedings.

Of many hundreds, who boldly stood forward as defenders of the knights, between fifty and sixty were brought into a field behind the abbey of St. Antoine, and there committed to the flames, all asserting their innocence, and that of the Order. To crown the whole, the savage Clement, so unworthy of his name and of his calling, ordered a council with the view of abolishing the Order; but discussions having pro-

duced disagreements, induced the Pope to put an end to the session; and, assisted by a few cardinals and prelates, on whom he could depend, in a secret consistory he abolished the Order by his own authority. Two years after this, Philip being seated on Clement's right hand, attended by an imposing force of soldiers, the Pope read the bulls of abolition in deep silence, which was published in the following month.

To consummate their iniquitous proceedings, Molay, the grand-master, and Guy, grand-prior of Normandy, who had all this time remained in prison at Paris, were brought before an archbishop, condemned to death, and burned on one of the small islands in the Seine, about the spot where the statue of Henri IV. is now erected on the Pont Neuf.

Voltaire calls the Templars an institution of armed monks, who make a vow of living at the same time in the character of anchorites and soldiers; and were accused of uniting the reproach of these two professions—the debauchery and the cruelty of the warrior, with the insatiable passion of avarice. It was their wealth and their growing power that caused their destruction.

The paper that follows was kindly sent to the editor by a friend, to whom he is indebted for many other documents of value.

"Notwithstanding the many British and foreign decorations which were conferred upon Sir Sidney Smith, there was no honour he prized so highly as the office of Regent of the Templars, to which he was unanimously elected upon the death of Fabré de Pala-

prat, the last grand-master of that Order. Shortly after that event, a deputation of the knights waited upon Sir Sidney, and expressed a wish that he should be their new master, an honour which he unhesitatingly declined, from a conviction of his unworthiness; but he consented to preside over their councils as Regent, according to the statutes, until some person better fitted by his talents and lofty qualities to undertake so great a charge, should be put in nomination, an event that never occurred during his life.

"It is generally supposed that the Order of the Temple was abolished, and history has taken great pains to mislead the people with regard to the licentiousness and wicked lives of the Templars. These statements are altogether false. That the Order was *suppressed* by all the sovereigns of Europe, cannot be denied; but as none of them created it, they could not abolish it. That irregularities and luxuries crept into their community, may be conceded; no institution as yet has ever reached perfection; but that the enormous wealth and property they possessed, was the ostensible cause of their downfall, is now generally admitted. Avarice and the desire of spoliation, however, were not the only causes for the persecution, unto death, of these valiant knights; the laity were not alone to blame, for their ignorant prejudices were inflamed by the church of Rome; and although tardy justice has lately (six hundred years after the cruel butchery of so many good and gallant Christians) opened the eyes of the world to the infamy of the charges brought against the Templars, and sought to be established by perjury and torture, no historian has yet revealed the

secret cause of the rancorous enmity of the church of Rome towards them.

"Sir Sidney Smith was of opinion, that it was a battle between the followers of St. Peter and St. John, a war between the churches of the west and the east—Rome and Jerusalem.

"The Templars approached nearer to the primitive Christians than any sect then in existence; they were decidedly *antipapists;* the gospel of St. John was the ground-work of their faith, the patriarch of Jerusalem their spiritual chief.

"In those days of papal ascendency throughout Europe, how offensive must have been the position of these gallant Christian *dissenters* from the Church of Rome, alike formidable by their wealth and their numbers in every kingdom, dangerous from their learning, their natural courage increased by religious fervour, the fame of their high military prowess and warlike renown rendering such a body of valiant nobles and chivalrous knights the terror of any kingdom, while their dissent from the Romish dogmas almost paralysed the councils of the Vatican! But working with that unison for which the Church of Rome has ever been so remarkable, its priests in the most distant lands received their secret orders, and acting upon the superstitions of an ignorant and bigoted people, one universal cry for justice upon the Templars, which polluted its very name and achieved the downfall of that body, which had devoted itself, life and limb, to the cause of virtue and the protection of innocence.

"Thus, in one general move, fell all the renowned knights of the Temple, their property sacked and pil-

laged, their revenues and estates confiscated to the sovereigns of Europe, or granted to other military orders; but the order itself was not abolished, for there is indisputable evidence of a successor having been appointed to Jacques Molay, immediately after his execution, and continued down to these times; so that the most celebrated knights of Christendom enrolled themselves secretly under the banner of the Temple; thus evincing their attachment to the virtuous principles of the order, even though shorn of the splendour which its worldly riches displayed in the olden time."

Extract of a Letter addressed to Captain Arabin, dated Caen, June 29th, 1841.

"A recent work entitled, 'Régle et Statuts secrets des Templiers; par Maillard de Cambuse. Paris, 1840,' gives a list of all the successive grand-masters of the Order of the Temple. The last and forty-sixth grand-master is stated to be 'Sir Guillaume Sidney Smith, né en 1764, élu en 1838, décédé le 26 Mai, 1840.' His election took place in the latter half of 1838—the precise month and day are not given,—so he was grand-master only about one year and eight months. The order had been left in a very agitated and disordered state, by the *previous* grand-master, Fabré-Palaprat, who died 18th of February, 1838. Then an interregnum ensued till the close of that year, when Sir Sidney Smith succeeded him. In page 544, the work says: 'Sir Sidney Smith, élu grand-maître en 1838, trouva l'Ordre dans cette situation. Les réformes projetées ne purent être exécutées qu'en partie durant la courte

durée de son magistère, qui finit à sa mort le 26 Mai, 1840.' It appears Sir Sidney was at the head of forty *English* knights of the order, which was one reason for his election; and with their assistance he had already successfully resisted certain injurious measures of the preceding grand-master Fabré-Palaprat.

"This work would furnish materials for a curious and interesting chapter on the history and nature of the order, which the admiral presided over at the end of his life. It is really a curious volume, furnishing much *new* information about the Templars. Among other things it seems to render probable that the earliest *Freemasons'* lodge in England was founded by some recreant and seceding *Templars*, and it is generally understood that all the lodges in the world at present are offshoots from that early British one."

There is a work also published in London, "The History of the Knights Templars, the Temple Church, and the Temple, by C. G. Addison, 1842."

During Sir Sidney Smith's regency of the Temple Don Pedro of Portugal, the late Emperor of the Brazils, was desirous to be elected grand-master of the order. In the conscientious discharge of his high functions Sir Sidney—although he had known the prince from his infancy, having taken him and all his family, as we have seen, to the Brazils, when Napoleon invaded Portugal in the year 1806; and notwithstanding Don Pedro's magnificent offer to reestablish the order in Portugal, in all its former splendour, with lands and houses as the seat of a grand prior and some hundreds of knights—fully impressed with the solemnity of the oath, which is enjoined by the rules of the

Order, and of the democratic nature of its institutions, refused his sanction to the desire expressed by many of the council to put his royal highness in nomination, averring, that he could not regard rank as having any claim *per se*, in an order where promotion should be based solely upon the merits of the candidate; and he observed, that he was more proud to serve under their late excellent grand-master, Fabré de Palaprat, (a doctor in medicine,) than to hold the high office of regent, not only because of his real merits, although a persecuted man, but because of the profession to which he belonged; as he had had many opportunities, in the course of his life, of witnessing the conduct of both officers and men in times of peril and danger, and he was bound to declare, that he had never seen displayed such acts of Christian heroism, of both mental and physical courage, and self-devotion, as he had seen on the part of the medical staff of both army and navy.

In the course which the gallant admiral pursued relative to Don Pedro, there is no doubt that Sir Sidney was actuated by a desire to maintain the principles of the order, within their proper sphere, under those modifications which the changes of society had rendered necessary; and that charity, the love of our fellow creatures, and raising the voice in the cause of the oppressed should abound, instead of that *literal drawing of the sword*, the use to which Don Pedro had fondly hoped he might apply his influence, as grand-master of the Temple, in maintaining the stability of his daughter's throne.

CHAPTER XIV.

PECUNIARY CLAIMS AND APPLICATIONS FOR EMPLOYMENT.

MEMORIAL OF SERVICES STATED.—AN EXTRACT OF THE SAME NATURE.—PROBABLE RESULT OF THEM.—RECEIVES AN ADDITIONAL PENSION OF 1000*l.* A YEAR.—HIS EXPLANATION OF IT.—RECEIVES ALSO THE PAYMENT FOR HIS DISBURSEMENTS IN SICILY AND CALABRIA.—TAKES UP HIS RESIDENCE IN PARIS.—MUCH GRATIFIED BY THE TREATMENT OF THE PARISIANS.—RECEIVES, BY ORDER OF THE KING, A SPLENDID COPY OF THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE SAVANS IN EGYPT.—VARIOUS CORRESPONDENCE.

1815—1839.

AMONG the mass of the "Sidney Papers" are two bearing the writer's signature, but both without dates. The one entitled "Extract, &c.," and nothing more; the other a memorial to his Royal Highness the Prince-Regent, embracing a brief abstract of his services from their commencement to the conclusion, both documents stating claims for services performed, and for future professional appointments. The date of the memorial must have been somewhere between the years 1815 and 1820, because his flag was up in the latter part of 1814, and his royal highness' father, George III., died in 1820. Besides, certain public claims were liquidated in the course of that period, as will be seen as we proceed. It may, therefore, seem not unreasonable to conclude that the result was favourable to the peti-

tion of the admiral, and, in one respect, produced more than was required or probably expected.

The memorial enters into a long detail of his various services, from his first entry to the close of the war in 1815. At the beginning of the American war he was entered in the fleet of Viscount Howe; and at the commencement of the French and Spanish wars was placed under Sir George Rodney, served under both in various actions, and was made captain in 1793.

1792-3. He served as a volunteer under Lord Hood at Toulon, and by his advice and aid the French fleet and arsenal were partially destroyed. Being on half-pay he was excluded from any share in the distribution of the gratuity, nor did he receive any recompense whatever.

1794-5. He was next employed in command of a squadron of frigates on the coast of France, was captured, and sent a prisoner to the Temple, which, with the means used for his escape, greatly involved him in debt, and all that he received from the first lord of the treasury was an avowal that his claim was "a sacred national obligation."

1798-1802. He was next sent in the Tigre as captain and plenipotentiary to Constantinople; defended St. Jean d'Acre, defeated Buonaparte, and ultimately delivered Egypt and the Levant from the French army; received the thanks of parliament and a pension of 1000*l.* a year, but no other emolument for the heavy expenses he had incurred. He landed and served as brigadier-general under Sir Ralph Abercrombie, was wounded in the battle of Aboukir, but as *acting* only was refused a share of the prize-money.

1803-4. On the breaking out of the consular war he commanded a squadron of small vessels in the North sea during the winter, to watch the enemy's coast from the Elbe to Boulogne, an arduous service which greatly impaired his health.

1805-7. Recommended by Lord Nelson on secret service for the protection of Sicily and Naples; captured Capri and defended Gaeta; acted in concert with Sir John Stuart at the battle of Maida, and defended the coast of Calabria; the extra expenses of more than 4000*l.*, promised to be paid, were not allowed.

1806-7. He was detached from this service to join Sir John Duckworth off the Dardanelles, where his squadron destroyed the Turkish fleet and spiked the batteries off Abydos. Received no compensation for this service.

1807-9. He next was sent to the coast of Portugal; was mainly instrumental in embarking and sending, under safe protection, the prince-regent and royal family from the Tagus to Rio de Janeiro. He soon after was ordered to proceed as commander-in-chief to the coast of South America, a most serious and important charge, rendered totally unproductive of any advantage to his private interest.

1812-14. His last service was as second in command of the Mediterranean fleet, where he continued to the conclusion of the war, to the satisfaction of his commander-in-chief; and thus ended his professional services.

The memorial thus concludes:—

"Your memorialist humbly submits that after a

life spent in the public service of his country, seizing every opportunity of active employment and declining none; and having on some occasions been so fortunate as to render to the great cause in which Europe has now fought for twenty years, he finds himself materially and seriously injured in his private fortune, and with no accession to it whatever from public successes; that he has served in many situations of great and unavoidable expense and sacrifice: and memorialist humbly hopes his distressing case, with a large family to support, may be taken into your royal highness's serious consideration. And that your royal highness will shew memorialist such favour, and grant him such relief as to your royal highness's wisdom, justice, and humanity may seem meet.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"W. S. SMITH."

From the "EXTRACT."

"Identified as I have always been with my work, and pursuing only the interests of my country, I could not pursue my own; for in fact I had none, even in contemplation, that could be considered separate from those of my country. I had no right to expect, or even the wish, to survive its wreck, supposing we had not succeeded in the glorious struggle for our independence and pre-eminence. But I have lived through it, to my astonishment, and lived to see the day when, on winding up the long account current, I find myself the victim of my zeal and disinterestedness, without the means of existence in my

own country, which I have served with loss of fortune and of health.

"Rigidly just, as I have ever been and am towards others, and disinterested as I have ever been in the pursuit of *advantage for the state*, while I never gave my own interests a single thought, and not having been enabled, by any of those contingent and collateral chances of prize-money, &c., which have been put in the way of other officers, to meet my engagements; but, on the contrary, having been selected by the confidence of successive governments to be employed on services of greater importance to the state, of more personal risk and of no pecuniary advantage whatever, I may now, nay I must, in justice to myself and others, *earnestly* urge my claims to any of the professional appointments or advantages that may be at the disposal of Lord Melville; not doubting but that his lordship or any other impartial statesman, looking back to the history of the long and arduous struggle in which we have been engaged, the services rendered by me at different times in responsible situations, and the manner in which those services were spoken of and complimented *from the throne*, and by the leading politicians of the day, must admit that some *substantial reward* is due to a successful and indefatigable labourer in the service of the state, considering that *others, who have not* filled the situations I have of minister plenipotentiary and of *commander-in-chief*, have been rewarded, not only with greater pecuniary advantages, but with rank and honorary distinction beyond the second class of the Order of the Bath, which I have had in common with lieutenant-colonels

of the army, who were subalterns at the time that the thanks of Parliament were conveyed to me, in such flattering terms, for a service of great *national* importance.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following agreeable notice was sent to Sir Sidney, then in Paris.

CAPTAIN ARABIN TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

Foreign Office, March 21, 1817.

"MY DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"My joy is indeed excessive at having to announce to you the favourable result of my exertions. Mr. Vansittart has just informed me that government have agreed to reimburse you the 4,500*l.* for the Sicily claim. The official communication will shortly be made; in the mean time Sir Charles Stuart will be written to, to give you immediate credit for 2,000*l.*, on account, to afford present relief.

"Mr. Vansittart desires me to say, that he has not yet had time to attend to your recommendation of General Tromlin's claim; but will when more at leisure.

"I have only time now to add, that I have received Lady Smith's letter and Miss Rumbold's, of 17th inst. I will attend to the contents, and now offer to all the family my most sincere and heartfelt congratulations.

"And believe me, &c.

"SEPTIMIUS ARABIN."

On the receipt of Captain Arabin's most welcome letter, the following is a reply he addressed to the

Lords of the Treasury, not to Captain Arabin's communication, but to one on the same subject he had received, at the same time, from Mr. William Hamilton, of the Foreign-office, announcing the same favourable result of the memorial.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE LORDS OF THE TREASURY.

Paris, March 26, 1817.

"My Lords,

"Mr. Wm. Hamilton, under secretary of state in the foreign department, having informed me by his letter of March 18th, that he had Mr. Vansittart's authority to authorize me to draw for 2,000*l.* immediately; and Captain Arabin, by his letter of the 21st, having informed me that Mr. Vansittart has informed him that government have agreed to reimburse me the 4,500*l.* claimed by me for carrying the service committed to my guidance and direction on the Sicilian station, and that Sir Charles Stuart would give me immediate credit for 2,000*l.*, I beg leave to inform your lordships that I have this day drawn on you for 1,000*l.* in favour of Messrs. Baquenault & Co., under the authorization of Sir Charles Stuart, to them addressed, to pay my bills on the Treasury, to the extent of 2,000*l.*; no banker here choosing to advance money on a private agent without a previous letter of credit from London; and you will please to hold the other 1,000*l.* at my disposal in like manner. The remaining 2,500*l.* I beg may be paid to my agents, Messrs. Toulman and Copland, of Surrey-street, Strand, on their exhibiting my general power of attorney, of which they are in possession. I have now to call your lordships' atten-

tion to a point of great importance to my interests, and, I will venture to say, to the honour of the country. The sum advanced by me to carry on the operations by which Sicily was saved in 1807; in fact, 4,700*l.* (although not having access to my agent's books, I estimated and stated it from memory at 4,500*l.*, in order to be conscientiously within the mark,) was the sum in fact advanced *to* me, and I have been paying interest for it ever since; now a diminution of my pension of 900*l.* per annum net, granted for a former service of 230*l.* interest annually, has been a heavy charge, occasioning me to contract other debts for subsistence, and it must be admitted, that I ought not to be out of pocket in the performance of a service commanded and indicated by Mr. Pitt and Lord Nelson. I therefore presume respectfully to claim its reimbursement.

"Your Lordships', &c.

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

A little more than twelve months after Sir Sidney's reply to the Treasury, we find the following letter of acknowledgment to the first lord of the Treasury, for the grant of an additional pension of 1,000*l.* a year, to commence from the year 1814.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO THE RIGHT HON. THE EARL OF LIVERPOOL.

Paris, June 12, 1818.

"MY LORD,

"I learn with much satisfaction that the prince-regent's government has been pleased to grant me an

additional pension of 1,000*l.* per annum, from the close of the war in 1814, and I beg leave through and to your lordship, to make my humble acknowledgments for the same. I learn that I am required to consider and acknowledge this additional pension to be in full compensation of all pecuniary claim on government, which I hereby do accordingly.

"I beg to be considered as ready and willing, under all circumstances, to serve my country to the utmost of my power and ability, when called upon, and to subscribe myself with respect and regard,

"Your Lordship's, &c.,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

Sir Sidney being desirous that this additional grant should not be thought an unmerited incumbrance on the public, wrote down a minute of the way in which it was brought about.

"Memorandum of the circumstances under which the pension of 1,000*l.* per annum was granted to Sir Sidney Smith, about the year 1817 or 1818.

"During the services of Sir Sidney Smith in the Levant, in the years 1799, 1800, 1801, and subsequently on the coasts of Italy, in 1806, 1807, he was exposed to considerable expense for the public service beyond what his pay and allowances could cover. These services were officially recognized and publicly acknowledged; but the monies, which he had actually expended from his private resources in the execution of those services, had not been reimbursed to him, and in

fact remained in dispute during successive administrations, until about 1816, his agent becoming a public defaulter, called upon the government to impound Sir Sidney Smith's income, to discharge the balance which had accumulated in his books, and which would thus by so far diminish the agent's debt to the Crown.

"This compelled Sir Sidney Smith to prove that those sums had been actually expended by him in the public service, and he did establish satisfactorily that a sum of between eight and nine thousand pounds was fairly due to him by the government.

"Lord Liverpool resisted the claims, upon which Sir Sidney Smith was about to present a petition to the House of Commons, which petition was actually prepared, and taken to Lord Liverpool by Mr. Wilberforce, who had undertaken to present it; Sir James Mackintosh to second it; Mr. Lamb (Lord Melbourne) to support it; and Mr. Nicholson Calvert, also to support it.

"Lord Liverpool finding the petition so powerfully supported, yielded the point; and in lieu of the money acknowledged to have been fairly expended in the public service, being close upon 9,000*l.*, proposed a pension of 1,000*l.* per annum, upon the 4½ per cent. West India fund. This proposal was accepted, and by Sir Sidney Smith very reluctantly, from its giving him the odium or appearance with the public of having that additional pension, whereas the real fact of the case is, that it was a bad and inadequate reimbursement to him of monies acknowledged to have been expended upon important public services.

"These circumstances are well known to Lord Mel-

bourne, who kindly and duly appreciated them at the time, and to Lord Bexley, who was Chancellor of the Exchequer."

From Lord Grenville he received the following congratulatory letter :—

LORD GRENVILLE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Dropmore, July 18, 1818.

"My dear Sir Sidney,

"The expression of the kind opinion you entertain of my wish to be of service to you is very gratifying to me. But I can with truth assure you that, independently of all considerations of personal regard, I was fully convinced that I was discharging a duty which I owed to you in justice as a public man, had I I not even had the smallest personal acquaintance with you.

"I wish the exertions of your friends had been still more effective, and I only regret that I can claim so little share in what has been done, though I trust you believe that nothing in my power has been omitted.

"Believe me yours, &c.,

"Grenville."

He was now perfectly at his ease in Paris, where, by his lively and agreeable manners, and the suavity of his temper and disposition, added to his universal benevolence, he became a general favourite, and, not the least so, among the officers of the eastern army, against whom he had contended in Egypt and in Palestine. For his amusement and exercise he established a row-boat on the Seine, in which he frequently rowed himself, and occasionally had small parties to accompany him; he

had sometimes himself rowed short distances, and took a companion with him. Whenever he appeared on the wharf where she was kept, he was sure to be attended by a crowd of veteran seamen of the revolutionary war, now boatmen on the river; with these he had a great acquaintance, and was well-learned in their laconic *patois*. "On one occasion, Sir Sidney invited two naval officers to accompany him, on a pull on the river; I," says Captain S. Smith, "being one of them. When we got to the wharf and all the old watermen came, they were evidently his delight, and equally it appeared that he was theirs. He desired me to go to an opposite tavern, and to give them a treat. Bread and brandy was the fare, and was distributed to a crowd in the street."

He had arrived at his flag of full admiral in 1821; and was made Lieutenant-General of Royal Marines in 1830.

Among the civilities he received was one by order of the French king, that of a copy of the "Description of Egypt," the produce of that band of *Savans* that accompanied the expedition under General Buonaparte, of whom so much was expected, and which was ushered into the world with so much parade. The following is the process by which the book was presented. In it is a proper compliment paid to Sir Sidney, as the sole preserver of the materials of which it is composed.

TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Ministère de l'Interieur, Commission d'Egypte, 26 Janvier.

"MONSIEUR L'AMIRAL,

"Permettez à mon empressement de ne pas attendre le moment où je serai libre d'aller vous voir,

pour vous apprendre qu'hier, Mercredi, le roi a signé l'ordonnance qui vous accorde le 'Voyage d'Egypte.' C'est moins vous que je félicite que ma nation, qui a su apprécier dans cette légère marque de la reconnaissance publique, les sentimens généreux et la loyauté magnanime.

"Agréez le nouvel et sincère hommage de mes sentimens.

(Signé) "JOMARD."

"Les president et membres de la Commission d'Egypte, à son excellence le ministre, sécrétaire d'etat de l'interieur.

"MONSEIGNEUR,

"Au moment où les membres de la Commission des Sciences et Arts d'Egypte, faisaient voile pour la France, le vaisseau qui les portait fut quelque temps au pouvoir de la flotte Britannique. Leurs papiers et leurs collections allaient être perdus pour leur patrie; eux mêmes se trouvaient dans une situation très critique, et leur vie etait menacée. Ils auraient sans doute succombé, et les resultats de leurs pénibles recherches auraient été anéantis, si un Anglais généreux n'était venu à leurs secours. Animé de l'amour des sciences, l'Amiral Sir Sidney Smith sauva leurs collections et leurs personnes. Ils ne peuvent oublier le noble dévouement de ce respectable étranger qui ne craignit pas de se compromettre, pour assurer à leur patrie les resultats de leurs travaux. Il conserva religieusement comme un dêpot sacré, les papiers de l'un d'entre nous, secretaire perpétuel de l'Institut d'Egypte; et aussitôt

le retour de la commission en France, il s'empressa de restituer ces papiers intacts.

"Nous croyons, Monseigneur, que cette conduite généreuse meriterait une marque signalée de la reconnaissance publique, et nous venons proposer à votre excellence de lui en offrir un gage, en demandant au roi, pour Mr. L'Amiral Sidney Smith, un exemplaire de la description d'Egypte.

"Nous avons l'honneur d'être avec respect, Monseigneur, de Votre Excellence, les tres obéissans serviteurs.

(Signé) "Fourier, Girard,
"Lepere Ainé, Desgenettes,
"G. Lafout, Devilliers,
"Jomard."

"Pour copie conforme, le commissaire du gouvernement près la commission d'Egypte,

(Signé) "Jomard."

"Paris, le 1st Fevrier, 1826.

"Monsieur,

"Je m'empresse de vous faire connaître que, par ordonnance royale, du 25 Janvier dr. sa majesté a daigné vous accorder un exemplaire (papier fin) de la description de l'Egypte.

"Je me felicite de pouvoir vous annoncer cet acte de la munificence royale, et vous prie de vouloir bien en suivre l'effet auprès de M. Jomard, commissaire du gouvernement près la commission d'Egypte.

"Recevez, Monsieur, l'assurance de ma consideration distingué, le ministre secretaire d'état de l'interieur,

(Signé) "Corbiere."

Sir Sidney being now at ease in pecuniary matters, the first application that appears among the papers is one to Lord Melville of the 18th May, 1820, in his behalf, from Captain Arabin for a professional appointment, of which the following is an extract.

"London, 18th May, 1820.

"MY DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"I should have written to you before the result of my communication with Lord Melville on the subject of your succeeding to some of the commands shortly about to become vacant, but that I thought it better to let you know at the same time what Lord Grenville might say on the subject. To secure Lord M.'s not refusing to see me, I waited first upon Mr. Hay, to tell him that I had a communication of a private nature from you to Lord M., and that I would wait upon him on his next levee day for the purpose. This I accordingly did, and found him very courteous and willing to hear anything I might have to say. I told him that you thought it of importance he should understand that the pension recently granted to you was not as a reward for services, but as compensation that you were compelled to accept in satisfaction and in lieu of a principal sum of greater value. All this he appeared to perfectly comprehend. My next point with him was to say, that your private affairs were now in such a state as to admit of your accepting any beneficial appointment that he might have it in his power to give. He looked at the list, and said that he did not see what could be given to an officer of your standing except Portsmouth or Ply-

mouth. I told him you had named those commands, but that Jamaica was the most advantageous in a pecuniary point of view, and that vice-admirals were frequently appointed to rear-admiral's commands. To this he gave no answer, but said your claims were very strong. Upon the whole, as far as one can judge of a cool, cautious Scotchman, I left him as I thought favourably disposed. I gave him an extract, which I send you a copy of, being *passages* that I selected from some of your former letters to me and others, as expressive of your feelings, the latter part altered and some additions to make it applicable to the present case. I have seen Lord Grenville on this same subject and shewed him the same extract, and told him that you had desired me to do so, in case it should come in his way to forward your wishes. He said he would be glad to do so if he had opportunity."

When the Duke of Wellington became prime minister, Sir Sidney took advantage of that event, and submitted his claim for what was still due to him, and for employment; to which the duke sends him such a reply as might have been expected from his usual correctness and propriety in all matters of public concern.

FROM THE DUKE OF WELLINGTON TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Cheltenham, August 29th, 182?

"DEAR SIR,

"I have had the honour of receiving your letter of the 28th instant, and I assure you that nothing

could give me greater satisfaction than to have it in my power to forward your views, or to improve your situation in life.

"I am convinced you will see that it is difficult, if not impossible, for me, entering into office in January, 1825 (my predecessors, under whose directions your services and others, such as yours, were performed, being either dead or disabled from conveying their sentiments upon those services) to find means for his majesty to reward them all, as I am willing to admit they deserve to be rewarded. The question which naturally occurs is, why did not Mr. Pitt, Lord Melville, Mr. Percival, Lord Liverpool, or Mr. Canning, under whom these services were performed, and who had a knowledge of all the circumstances of the cases, respectively reward these services?

"The answer is, they have rewarded them, but inadequately, and thus the question occurs again,—why did not they provide adequately for that for which it was their duty to provide, if the claim really existed, as it appears it did? These are not questions sought for in order to defeat a claim, they naturally occur, and if I did not consider them, they must be brought to my recollection by those who must be consulted and must decide upon these subjects.

"Under these circumstances, and as I really have no means at my disposition of rewarding such services, I feel great objections to recur back to transactions, however honourable and meritorious, which occurred many years ago, and which ought, and indeed must have been considered by my predecessors in office.

"In respect to the employment of you in your pro-

fession, in the manner pointed out in your letter, it is a subject with which I have no more to do than I have with the employment of an officer in the navy of the king of France.

I don't think either, that considering the nature and state of the diplomatic service in this country, I ought to do otherwise than decline to recommend to Lord Aberdeen that you should be employed in that branch of the service.

"I really feel most sensibly for your situation, and most particularly because I have no means of relieving you.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,
(Signed) "WELLINGTON."

FROM LORD ABERDEEN TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH

"Foreign Office, October 29th, 1828.

"DEAR SIR,

"Although I very sincerely regret the present embarrassment of your situation, I fear that the mode of relief pointed out in your letter is not such as I could with propriety adopt. I could not, for a purpose of this kind, attach you to the mission at Paris; neither does it appear how you could be attached to the suite of the Queen of Portugal, as a knight commander of the tower and sword, by the Marquis de Barbaçeur. Any official application from the marquis will of course be attended to; and with every wish, should it be possible, to meet your views. I confess, however, that the proposal alluded to appears liable to many objections.

"Permit me to say, that since I have been in com-

munication with his majesty's ambassador at Paris, I am very certain that no endeavour has been wanting to obtain from the French government a compensation justly due for your claims; and I had flattered myself, from Lord Stuart's last report, that however inadequate, there was a prospect of an arrangement being speedily made.

"I have the honour to be, &c.,

"ABERDEEN."

The claim on the French is, I apprehend, that of his having been commander-in-chief, under whose orders the capture of the colony of Cayenne was made.

Hitherto Sir Sidney had passed his time most comfortably in Paris; but in August, 1832, he was deeply distressed by a reply to an application he had made for employment, but it was not this refusal that gave pain; which simply stated that "it has been determined to send a vice-admiral to the Mediterranean, and Sir Robert Pulteney Malcolm has been selected for this special service." "I am quite aware," Sir James Graham adds, "of your unabated zeal for the service of his majesty, which your anxiety to be employed on the present occasion evinces so honourably; but at the present moment it is not necessary to demand your exertions." It was a refusal of a different nature that preceded this; and one in which an obscure obstacle, not explained, appears to have been assigned as a reason. In this painful situation Sir Sidney replies as follows:

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO SIR JAMES GRAHAM.

"Paris, August 24th, 1832.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"I could not but be deeply pained by your communication of the 3rd of July, announcing to me that an obstacle exists, which you cannot overcome, and which will prevent you from offering me the command either at Portsmouth or at Plymouth, when the vacancies occur. In whatever way your kind and friendly feeling has led you to smooth to me this unpleasant intimation, and your expressions upon it are most kind, and I assure you, are fully valued and appreciated, you may well suppose *how* painful it must be to me, after so long a life of public employment, in which it has been my good fortune to render services to the state, which the history of my country will do justice to, to learn that any obstacle can be said to exist to my obtaining, in the usual routine of my profession, a command to which I have every reason to look forward as my just right. The assurances which you so kindly and so frankly gave me, when I had last the honour of an interview previously to my return to Paris, of your feelings and those of your colleagues with regard to me, dismiss from my mind all idea of the existence of an obstacle on public grounds, could such a one present itself to me as possible, when I look back upon my long career and the motives which have invariably actuated my conduct in the execution of my public duty; and I therefore turned to the direction where I thought it possible there might exist a feeling operative in the way you regretted in your letter, and

I took measures, the result of which I feel assured you will be pleased to learn. I must, however, beg of you to allow my son-in-law, Captain Arabin, to wait upon you and make this communication. It is a subject of so confidential a nature, that I would prefer not writing upon it. He has my entire confidence, and you may communicate with him as you would with myself upon all matters concerning me. I will only add to this letter the expression of my entire confidence in the high and honourable feeling of your mind, and in the satisfaction which, upon public grounds, you will feel, at the removal of an obstacle, which you believed to exist, to my obtaining what I venture to submit *all* opinions must concur in considering as being my right; and so much so, that the being *passed over* upon the present occasion, *must* be viewed by others, as well as by myself, as a stigma cast upon my character as a public servant. I am convinced that not *one* individual of his majesty's present government would willingly *consent* to inflict so painful a blow upon me, and I therefore look with confidence to the result of the communication which Captain Arabin will have to make to you, and to which I solicit the favour of your earliest attention.

"I am, &c.

"W. S. SMITH."

Sir Sidney on this occasion wrote as follows to Sir Herbert Taylor, and requested Captain Arabin to wait on Sir Herbert, to aid him, if possible, to approach the king.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO SIR HERBERT TAYLOR.

"Paris, July 24th, 1835.

"DEAR SIR HERBERT,

"I profit by Captain Arabin, my son-in-law, going to England, to request you to allow him a confidential verbal communication with you, towards the establishment of truth, justice, and harmony, on a very delicate point.

"You must be aware, as I am, that the king suddenly altered his cordial friendly feeling and assumed a coldness and distance of manner towards me quite inexplicable, though to me (with my strong feelings of early attachment) very painful and mortifying.

"I am left to conjecture as to the cause of this. In vain I seek for it in my mind, my conscience not accusing me of any act, or even a thought or expression, that can have given occasion for it. Yet the king, so just and benevolent in his nature, must have received some impression which he conceives to be ground for his displeasure, or he would not inflict such pain on an old and attached friend and servant.

"I beg the personal favour of you to oblige me by seeing Captain Arabin, and give him confidentially your advice, and aid him, if possible, to approach the king, so as for him to have an opportunity of clearing away this irksome state of things, and relieve me from the painful feelings which cannot but exist in my mind. He knows all my acts, and the motives and grounds of them for the last thirty-six years, and could explain away, better than anybody else, whatever erroneous ideas may have been put into his majesty's mind respecting me. You may treat with him quite con-

fidentially, as you would with me, and I will therefore only beg the favour of you to give him a personal interview.

"Believe me ever, dear Sir Herbert, your very sincere friend and devoted humble servant,

(Signed) "W. SIDNEY SMITH.

Nothing further appears respecting this painful subject.

His next letter is to Lord Auckland, acknowledging the kindness he had received from his father, and offering his lordship the information he had gained in his travels in the Russian and Swedish dominions, containing other matters also connected with the naval service.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD AUCKLAND.

"Paris, June 6th, 1834.

"DEAR LORD AUCKLAND,

"When Lord Spencer came to the office you now are called to, I felt it my duty (considering antecedents) to offer him my services and the result of my experience in various localities, in addition to the offer my duty called upon me to make officially to the board, and we corresponded constantly accordingly.

"On this occasion, I should feel wanting to your father's memory, and ingratitude for all his kindness (on my uncle General Smith's recommendation of me) at Madrid and at Beckenham, if I did not place myself at your disposal in like manner. My general offer of service afloat is on record at the admiralty. I owe to your father all the knowledge I have of the Black Sea, and Levant, by his selection of me on account of my knowledge of Russian military and naval means acquired in the Gulf of Finland, at the close of the war

between that power and Sweden, and his mention of me to Lord Grenville. I ought, therefore, to make you the offer of it at this critical time. I beg the favour of you to receive Captain Arabin (my son-in-law, now in London, and about to return to me) as my confidential representative, and to communicate your commands to me through him. I beg you also to receive him on his own account as a naval officer of much experience, great acquirements, and most assiduous application and self-devotion, when employed, or undertaking anything however arduous and intricate.

"He will shew you a letter I have received from your predecessor in office, accounting for the delay experienced in the promotion of my nephew William Sidney Smith, from commander of the Larne, on the North American station, which command I obtained for him in order that he might earn and qualify himself for *post rank*, which alone can enable him to rise and supply my place on the list of flag officers in future times. I trust when there 'may be three vacancies,' or if they now exist unknown at the board as yet, he may find himself favoured by you on my account, and that of his own regular and meritorious services, as he would have been by Sir James Graham, according to his expressed intention.

"I remain, my dear Lord,

"Your very obedient and faithful servant,

"W. Sidney Smith."

Lord Auckland did not promote Commander Sidney Smith, his lordship having remained but a few months in office; but Lord Minto did in January, 1837; and

on the 4th July, 1838, communicated to Sir Sidney (private) a most gratifying piece of information, which was well calculated to soften down the grievance he had to complain of in the mysterious conduct of his late majesty, but Lord Minto must himself announce the good fortune of Sir Sidney.

LORD MINTO TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Admiralty, July 4th, 1838.

"DEAR SIR SIDNEY,

"I feel great pleasure in announcing her majesty's gracious intention of conferring upon you the grand cross of the order of the Bath. The navy generally will, I am sure, rejoice to see one of its most illustrious chiefs thus invested with the highest honours of professional distinction.

"The announcement in the gazette is, I believe, delayed for a day or two, on account of some other arrangements following the coronation.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir Sidney

"MINTO."

His reply is as follows:

SIR SIDNEY SMITH TO LORD MINTO.

"Duplicate despatched from the Avenue de Neuilly, outside the Barrier, 23rd July, under the doubt of the original having been put into the mail-bag.

"Paris, July 9th, 1838.

"MY DEAR LORD,

"I hasten to acknowledge your lordship's favour of the 4th instant, and to request you will have the goodness to be my interpreter in rendering my grate-

ful expressions, for the high honour intended me of the grand cross of the order of the Bath, acceptable to her majesty the queen.

"It being among the first distinguished honours granted by her most gracious majesty, on occasion of the coronation, and being unexpected, greatly enhances its value in my estimation; and allow me to add, that I duly appreciate the flattering terms in which your lordship is so kind as to convey the information, as a proof of old family traditional friendship.

"I remain, my dear Lord,

"W. SIDNEY SMITH."

The following congratulatory note is from General Doyle, a colleague of Sir Sidney's, at the battle of Aboukir, Alexandria, the Nile, and other parts of Egypt.

GENERAL DOYLE TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Roycaumont, July 24th, 1838.

"MY DEAR OLD FRIEND,

"Accept my warmest congratulations at the fact that TARDY *justice has at length overtaken thee!* The gazette announces your being made a grand cross of the Bath, that *ought* to have been the case *many, many years ago!* However, better late than never. In my heart do I rejoice, and so will all those who saw, as I did, how you worked to merit that, and every other distinction your country could confer upon you. Long may you live to enjoy your new honour, is the sincere wish of your old ally and friend,

"CHARLES DOYLE."

The following appears to have been the last letter he received, a few months before his death, and without doubt, had he been able, he would have been highly gratified to have met this worthy gentleman, and to have taken a final leave of the Duke of Wellington.

THE REV. J. B. ROBERTS TO SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

"Buckland, Dover, August 22, 1839.

"SIR SIDNEY,

"Pray pardon the freedom, on the part of a perfect stranger, of addressing you on the subject of the festival to be held here on Friday, 30th inst., in honour of his grace the Duke of Wellington.

"A report prevailed in this neighbourhood, a few weeks since, that we were to be honoured with your presence on the occasion. As a member of the committee of management, though, in very truth, the humblest individual of it, I have obtruded myself on your notice, with a view of stating simply, how universal and how sincere would be the gratification of seeing the gallant defender of Acre, by the side of the hero of Waterloo. I am sensible how many apologies are due from me, for departing so much from the commonest principles of etiquette; but the increasing interest felt, with regard to the grand fête, must plead in extenuation.

"Should it be your intention to visit Dover (as thousands wish), I beg to say, that I shall be proud to be at your service, in any way that you can command me. My own house, being but a cottage, I do not venture to offer it as any accommodation to you; but

with all possible humility, I am bound to assure you, that I should have the utmost pleasure in entertaining, in an humble way, so distinguished a guest.

"Entreating the largest measure of your indulgence for what you will probably deem an extravagant presumption,

"I have the honour to be,

"J. B. ROBERTS,
"Vicar of Buckland, in Dover.

"P. S.—A flag commemorative of the defence of Acre is prepared for the pavilion."

Sir Sidney Smith was always ready to give his opinion and advice whenever sought for by the younger officers of the service.

A young lieutenant of the name of Knocker, being one day officer of the watch, received an incorrect report from a midshipman, lost his temper, and treated him harshly, for which the captain, being on deck, censured him, and expressed his "wonder who had made a lieutenant of such a boy." Indignant at this imputation, he determined to ask for a court-martial, but on reflecting that he expected to be removed to Sir Sidney Smith's ship, he stated his case to that officer, and prayed for his advice; Sir Sidney, always ready to oblige, wrote to him, in substance, as follows :—

"Hibernia, 29th August, 1813.

"Make no useless replies in altercation with your captain. Keep your temper, and take nothing you allude to, to heart; 'tis not worth your while.

The *past* is not in one's power; the *future* is more worth notice, as being in a degree in hand. You have not to learn that a lieutenant is alone answerable to a captain, and a midshipman whom a lieutenant trusts is answerable to him. You have got a lesson to see with your own eyes, rather than with those of others, to see every part of duty confided to you carried through all its stages, verifying every step of it yourself; it is no light charge for the officer of the watch, and must not be treated in a light manner.

"When you rejoin the fleet you will, I presume, from what the commander-in-chief said, have your appointment to this ship, and then all will be well."

CHAPTER XV.

ADVENTURES, INCIDENTS, AND ANECDOTES, ILLUSTRATIVE OF CHARACTER.

"SIR SIDNEY,

"There is so much of romantic and chivalrous interest attached to the adventures of your public life, that I greatly regretted I had not an opportunity whilst in Paris of receiving from your own lips, a few of the details of your personal adventures. The character displayed in your public career was of that kind as invariably to excite admiration, and it would be little compliment for an individual to say, when the nation and Europe at large applauded, that no one that was not personally known to you, could feel a deeper interest respecting you. I hope for the benefit and gratification of posterity, if not for our contemporaries, you will yourself put in writing the particulars of your adventurous life."

Every one must agree with Mr. Scoresby, from whose letter to Sir Sidney Smith the above extract is taken; he was himself once the hardy seaman, from whose pen and personal experience has issued a most interesting and scientific description of the frozen seas and rugged shores of old Greenland; but a change came over his adventurous life, and it is now meritoriously employed in the divine service of the Church. If Sir Sidney had done what Mr. Scoresby suggests, these

volumes would never have appeared; but, in point of fact, he has done it, there being scarcely a subject on which his pen has not been employed; and in editing the present work, it was deemed best to take his own statements in the words of his own pen, in all the transactions and adventures of his life, together with his opinions, in none of which could it be said he was sparing. In further elucidation of his character, will be found, in this last chapter, a promiscuous series of adventures, incidents, and anecdotes; and if their insertion should obtain the approval of Mr. Scoresby, it will be an encouragement most gratifying to the editor of these volumes.

ADVENTURE IN AN OPEN BOAT.

William Sidney Smith having, as we have seen, attained the rank of captain at the age of nineteen, and the peace in 1783 having sent him on shore, immediately commenced his travels with the view of obtaining local knowledge, and improving his skill in foreign languages. And as at this time Sweden and Russia had rendered the Baltic the theatre of naval operations, he determined to go thither to see, if possible, in what manner the war was carried on, merely as a spectator. The two fleets were about to approach each other on his arrival, and he is now left to tell his own story.

"Things were in this situation when I arrived in the Baltic to be a spectator of the naval and military operations, which the disposition of the forces could not fail to produce. Having been cautioned to observe the proclamation extant, prohibiting British officers from entering into foreign service, I hired a

Danish sloop, the neutrality of whose flag allowed me to be an unnoticed spectator of the various movements of the fleets, though I could not pretend to be an uninterested one; for, besides the natural propensity in every man to favour the weaker of two antagonists, I was not so ignorant of the interests of my own country in this quarrel, as not to see, that, sooner or later, we should be obliged openly to step forward, to check the rapid strides of such a growing power as Russia, particularly if she should be successful against Sweden.

"My little vessel being ill calculated to carry sail after large ships, or to be able to resist the bad weather as the season advanced, from her age and leaky state, after many narrow escapes from shipwreck, on coasts totally unknown to me, I was at last reduced to the necessity of taking refuge between two rocks near the island of Bornholm, to repair her, when, finding her totally unfit to proceed to sea again, I was constrained to seek another, and to content myself with the first that offered, though only the wreck of a Russian long-boat, not decked, and so much out of repair, that I paid the full value of it, when I gave the price of two kegs of brandy, which was all the vendor asked; the size, being only twenty-two feet long, and seven broad, was rather small for my purpose. It had, however, advantages in some respects, on such an indented intricate coast as this, since every reef of breakers, which it would be dangerous for a large vessel to approach, afforded shelter for a boat against an approaching storm, as I afterwards had experience of.

"It was in full confidence, therefore, that I set to work to render my new acquisition fit for sea, by

making proper sails, and the necessary alterations and repairs in the hull. This work took no longer time than I expected, from the ignorance and dilatory habits of the Bornholm workmen, as also from the want of materials, of which, however, I fortunately received a supply from the wreck of a Russian cutter, which was cast away on the island.

"When I was ready for sea a very serious difficulty arose; the men I had hired as my crew refusing to trust themselves in so small a vessel, at so advanced a season of the year; and I should have been obliged to relinquish my plan, if a Portuguese boy, one of the crew who had been saved from the Russian cutter, had not offered himself to go; and his language being more favourable to me than the Danish, he was of great use to me. Thus equipped, and with this boy only as my crew, I put to sea to follow the motions of the fleets. The Duke of Sudermania, as High-Admiral of Sweden, commanded the Swedish fleet. His attempt to prevent the junction of the two squadrons of the Russian fleet proved abortive, though his royal highness succeeded in bringing the Revel division to anchor off Bornholm, before the arrival of the squadron from Copenhagen."

Sir Sidney then notices the melancholy fact of an epidemical sickness that had broken out among the Swedes, "owing, as I have since traced, to the dampness of their ships, from their being built in haste with unseasoned timber, and from the pernicious practice of pickling the wood with salt." We might here take a lesson from this, when, in the days of the dry rot furor, we had the folly of steeping loads of timber in salt-ponds previous to working them into frames of

ships. Sir Sidney says, "the hospitals were filled to the number of eight thousand, four thousand of whom died in a very short time.

"On their return to Carlscrona I ventured to go on board the Duke of Sudermania's ship, there not being the same necessity for delicacy in approaching the Swedish fleet, which had constantly withheld me from going on board the Russian, in which latter I had reason to know I should not be received as a welcome guest. I was so fortunate as to find some officers on board whom I had known at Morocco, when they were there with the last Swedish embassy, besides being furnished with a letter from Mr. Elliot, the British minister at Copenhagen. I was properly presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of Sudermania, who received me with the most flattering marks of distinction, expressing his highest opinion of British naval skill, and marking the disadvantage of having so many English officers in the Russian line against him.

"His attention seemed to be particularly attracted by the novelty of a young man pursuing professional knowledge, in spite of the hardships and risks of such a navigation, in an open boat, and almost alone. His royal highness honoured me with frequent conversations on professional topics, allotting me a place next to him at table; and at length he proposed to me to accompany him to Stockholm, being, as he said, desirous to present me to his brother, the king, and to the royal family."

All this of course followed; the narrative breaks off abruptly, but we know that Sir Sidney lost no time in going to England, to obtain leave of absence to

return to Sweden; the result has been given in the first volume in as full detail as the mutilated state of the documents would allow.

SAILING UNDER FALSE COLOURS.

Our admiral, like all true British sailors, was an ardent admirer of the fair sex in general, and of elegance of form and beauty in particular. On one occasion he had been rather lavish in his praise and admiration of a very pretty woman, whose figure had struck his attention as being remarkably elegant, and he pronounced her to be a perfect model. "Stop, admiral," said a naval friend, "her face is pretty, I concede, but as to her form, when I saw her last, she had none, unless it were that of being as thin as an inch deal board."—"Well, well," said Sir Sidney, "I shall not argue the point with you, but I shall take a closer observation the next time I see her." Having called upon the lady in question a short time after the above conversation occurred, the admiral said, as he told the story himself,—"I felt very indignant at the manner in which my friend had libelled her, for more perfect symmetry I never beheld; but judge my surprise," he continued, "when in the course of a very animated conversation, I observed her taking a *marlin-spike* (a long hair-pin) out of her head, and plunge it to the hilt in her bosom several times, without once drawing blood. I never saw my friend again, so he did not enjoy his triumph; and the craft which sailed under such false colours, is now dead, or I should not have told the story."

CHARITABLE DISTRIBUTION.

Of the generosity and benevolence of Sir Sidney Smith, which injured his finances and greatly embarrassed his declining years, we have had occasion to speak; but of his habitual and daily acts of charity, those persons only who were familiarly acquainted with them, are competent to speak, and to such it must have been a matter of great delight to see the old admiral leave his hotel, at eight or nine o'clock each evening, with the seats of his carriage literally piled up with plates of well confectioned viands, for the poor and unfortunate inhabitants of garrets or hovels, many of whom had seen better days, and were too proud to beg.

In the cause of distress Sir Sidney knew no distinction of country, and made no inquiry by what it had been occasioned; it was enough for him to enjoy the pleasure of affording relief to the distressed. This species of charity had its limits; but, like a true sailor, he scarcely knew the value of money, which no sooner came than it went; and if the reflection ever occurred of the numerous calls upon his benevolence, those calls which the sense of charity alone rendered obligatory upon a Christian mind, he never withheld the boon so long as a franc remained. Such conduct may be condemned as a disregard of common prudence, but it was entitled to the merit of a truly feeling heart.

THE RETORT COURTEOUS.

Sir Sidney mentions a clever retort made by a friend of his at Vienna, Madame S. She received a letter from a Parisian lady, detailing the news of

fashionable life, adding, "Apropos, on trouve ici que votre ambassadeur, le Comte Aponi est très lourd." Madame S. felt her patriotism a little nettled, and immediately answered this letter; and, after a series of polite gossip, concluded thus,—"Apropos, on trouve ici que votre ambassadeur le Marquis de Caraman est très léger."

FRIENDLY CONTENTION OF TWO ELDERS.

But with all this meek spirit of generosity, his indomitable courage never forsook him; and at seventy-six years of age (the year in which he died), he fancied himself as strong, or at least as capable of coping with an enemy at sea or ashore, as in the prime of life; in which, however, he greatly miscalculated on his mental as well as his physical powers.

Three years before his death, namely in 1837, Paris was infested with a sanguinary band of robbers and assassins, who had in many instances applied the South American custom of the *lasso* or noose, thrown from the windows of the old houses in the by-streets, in order to entrap the unwary passers by; so that several persons were found dead in those streets with their pockets rifled; and the *post mortem* examinations proved that strangulation had been the cause of death. At the period in question, when the aforesaid atrocities were the subject of general conversation, Sir Sidney happened one night to be with a late party in the Rue de Faubourg St. Honoré; and having dismissed his carriage at midnight, was destined to walk home. His host offered to accompany him to his hotel, thinking that the many glittering stars upon his breast might

offer considerable temptation to the lawless people alluded to. The offer was accepted, and when they arrived at the admiral's quarters, and the friend was about to take his leave, he was surprised by the admiral's proposal to see him safe home, as there were bad people about.

His friend could not refrain from smiling at the strange proposal, but knowing how utterly useless it would have been to contend with the admiral, he took his arm and walked back again. The contention, however, was not at an end, for each was determined to carry his point; and probably the whole night would have been passed in going and returning, had not the parties entered into a convention, by which it was agreed, that they should separate on the Boulevard de la Madelaine, half-way between their respective domiciles; the gallant old admiral declaring that his friend need not have had any fear for his safety, as what he lacked in strength he could supply in science.

GIFTS FROM THE FAIR.

It was the great delight of Sir Sidney to give pleasure to young people. Such was his unaffected good nature and simplicity, that, up to a very advanced period of his life, he could enjoy the amusements of a country *fête*, and deliver himself up to its humours and fun, with all the *abandon* of a boy of fifteen. On such occasions he never forgot a fairing for each of his fair young friends, reminding them, when presenting a gilt brooch, a plated thimble, a pin-cushion, ring, hair-comb, or any other *vingt-cinq-sous* article (for his presents seldom exceeded that sum), that "he would

not offer so trifling a proof of his regard, were he not sensible of the value they so kindly set upon the donor."

A MANŒUVRE TO GIVE PLEASURE.

His management in a more delicate affair than that of a rural *fête*, may here be noticed. At the *fêtes* of July in Paris, in 1830 (two years before his death), Sir Sidney, was besieged with applications from his fair countrywomen to procure tickets of admission to the Admiralty, to witness the *feu d'artifices*, a pyrotechnic display which far exceeded anything of the kind at Vauxhall or elsewhere in England; the stages in front of the Admiralty commanding an uninterrupted view over the Place Louis Quinze, were much sought after. Greatly as the admiral was esteemed by the naval authorities of France, he felt how indelicate it would be to press the minister of marine for countless admissions for his friends, to the exclusion of the minister's own countrywomen; and at the same time to ask it for some English ladies and refuse others would produce discontent and jealousy, distressing to his kind nature. To get over the difficulty and displease no one, he conceived an expedient which answered the purpose. Among his friends, then residing in Paris, was a lady (to whose family he had been long and warmly attached) who had a daughter between nine and ten years of age.

The admiral waited on the minister of marine, told him his difficulty, and that he would request only permission for his favourite young lady herself, and a few of her friends, whom she alone should select. The

admiral had now an answer to give to all applications, and the young lady (his niece) was as much gratified with the idea of having taken so many friends under her wing, as the good old admiral was pleased with the happy issue of his harmless plot.

THE REPROOF.

Sir Sidney Smith was as remarkable for the urbanity of his manners and the kindness and almost feminine mildness of his temper, as he was for his manly daring and determined perseverance in all cases of danger or difficulty. He had a great aversion to party feuds and private dissensions, and never lacked an excuse for interposing his authority to stop any discussion, which was calculated to lead to unpleasant results, of which the following trifling anecdote may serve as an example :—

A gentleman well known in Parisian society, of rather eccentric habits,—a man of education and considerable talent, and a most entertaining companion, but enjoying the reputation, which he did not probably deserve, of being quarrelsome,—having at a party where our admiral was present offered a pinch of snuff to a friend, from a narrow tin canister, into which it was with great difficulty he could insert his fingers; the gentleman thought proper to remind his friend of the old story of the Prince of Wales throwing his snuff into the fire, after some gentleman had fumbled it about with his fingers, which his friend considered as a sort of reprimand to himself, or reflection on the clumsy manner in which he was endeavouring to help himself; and feeling hurt at the tone of ill-nature in which the

reproof was delivered, the friend petulantly replied by telling him, "he had better follow the prince's example."

This observation led to high words, which were overheard by Sir Sidney, whose face, usually beaming with the most benignant expression, became suddenly changed, and assuming a stern severity, which none but those who had served under him in moments of peril had ever witnessed, he called aloud to the parties, and addressing himself first to the younger of the two, whom he knew as a Knight of the Temple, "Young man, as your regent, I command you, retire into that room," pointing to a boudoir at the end of the saloon. Then turning to the elderly gentleman he said, "I wish to speak a word with you;" and he walked him away into a third room. He then returned into the boudoir, and five minutes afterwards the two parties met again in perfect harmony.

EL-ARISH.

The friends of Sir Sidney Smith never forgave the treatment he received from ministers relative to the treaty of El-Arish, and so late as February 1818, it was proposed, by Mr. Wilberforce, to allude in the House of Commons to Sir Sidney's correspondence, regarding the rupture of that treaty, in consequence of the non-ratification of it. Sir Sidney, in his reply to the member, entirely discouraged it at this late period, because, he observed, we were now at peace, and that it was more prudent to say nothing about it, bearing in mind the old adage, "Il ne faut pas éveiller le chat qui dort."

A SEASONABLE REBUKE OF AN INSOLENT ENEMY.

An order of the day by Abdallah Menou reflected on Sir Sidney for having indulged mutual salutations with a French officer, both having asked reciprocally the news of the day—a common custom among military men who have entire confidence in each other's loyalty. Another offence was that of a midshipman, a mere boy, having approached a French dragoon, when the latter shook him civilly by the hand; this was all that passed. Yet this swaggering general says,—"It is with sword in hand alone, that brave military men ought to attack each other; all other conduct is unworthy of a warrior who, even towards his enemies, ought only to employ the means that honour allows."—"True," says Sir Sidney, "but how comes it that General Menou, who is a brave military man, is found to attack *his* enemy *in his absence* with his *pen*. It is to be hoped that, after having fought again, once for all, there will be an end of the business, without further attacks of any kind, and that peace and harmony will ensue. Quarrels arise and are perpetuated, for want of a good understanding,—that is the sole object of this note."

DIFFERENT NAMES TO THE SAME PURPOSE.

Sir Sidney was not only fond of anecdotes but of illustrating subjects of conversation in some new and striking manner; as for instance, in speaking of the machinery of different governments to conduct the affairs of state, he would say, England conducts her most important concerns by means of *two houses;* France by *two chambers;* Austria by *a cabinet;* whilst Rome is ruled from *a seat* (*Le Saint Siége*).

ENCOURAGEMENT TO PROJECTORS.

Sir Sidney was a great patron of the arts, and no mean mechanic himself. His inventions for preserving the crews of shipwrecked vessels, although not always so entirely successful as might be desired, were of great practical utility; and he spared no exertions in inspecting and proving every new instrument, or in advancing the improvement of any invention, which was calculated to have a beneficial effect in dangers. Nothing repudiating, however wild its theory at first view; never disheartening the inventor, but offering encouragement for future trials, even where failure of purpose was evident, making learned suggestions when perfection was not achieved, always treating his applicants with that kindness, urbanity, and gentleness, which are the universal accompaniments of real talent, learning, and genius; his own opinion being, that the intelligence of man was of such high order, that no suggestion of his mind should be despised, but be submitted to a fair trial.

ENCOURAGEMENT TO SWIMMING.

Sir Sidney Smith was not only an encourager of projectors, but was himself a great mechanical contriver, though not always quite happy in defending either his own or other persons' inventions. On one occasion when contriving the best kind of boats, launches, and rafts, he was explaining to a party how easily a raft, capable of saving a ship's crew, might be constructed by means of a few spars, and some empty water-casks, well buoyed and lashed together, of which

simple but efficacious contrivance he professed himself to be the inventor. One of the party, in a somewhat *nonchalant* manner, observed that it was all very well for sailors to talk of riding upon a water-cask in a storm, but suppose the man to be washed off? "Let him get on again," said Sir Sidney. "But if he can't swim, sir, what is he to do?" "What is he to do, sir," replied Sir Sidney, energetically, "A cat swims, sir, a dog swims, a pig swims, and shall it be said that man, endowed with intelligence, and possessing in an eminent degree, above all other animals, the power of propelling himself through the water—is man then to quietly give up life, because he has no hard ground to stand upon? If nature had not intended man to swim, every river would have formed the boundary of a separate country? Throw a puppy or a new-born child into the water, both will swim. It is instinct, sir, and depend upon it, any man can swim, if he can only conquer that fear which is engendered by intelligence badly employed."

A COMMENTARY ON CASK-RAFTS.

Sir Sidney, however, had a most narrow escape from drowning when floating on one of his own *cask-rafts*. The story is told by his nephew, Captain W. S. Smith, his companion on this crazy vehicle :—

"In October, 1827, Sir Sidney came to Dieppe, for the benefit of sea-air; where he found several other officers. For their instruction and amusement, he constructed a raft of casks, such as was to serve for the preservation of a shipwrecked crew.

"A number of women are usually in attendance on

the jetties, to track in their fishing-craft by means of hawsers. They are dressed in a particular costume, and receive for every operation a certain sum, each fixed by custom.

"Whilst Sir Sidney and his party were out on the raft, the wind began to blow fresh off the land,—the tide ebbing out of the harbour. We arrived off the jetties, when boats brought off a rope and took off from the raft all the persons, except Sir Sidney and myself; he intending to hold on till the tide slackened. But the women of the jetty, whom we could not control, because of the noise of the wind and stream, and of the clatter of their wooden shoes, commenced towing us in through the swash.

"The fastenings, being only slight, gave way; the women, instead of ceasing to haul, hauled the faster, and clapped on in greater numbers. At length Sir Sidney and I were left standing on a remnant, the remainder of the machine having been washed away. A small boat coming alongside to aid us in our perilous situation, I said, 'You are next the boat, sir, pray jump in.' He most coolly answered me, 'The commanding-officer, sir, is the last at a retreat!' Having urged me into the boat, he followed, just in time to escape being submerged in the last remaining of the casks.

"All were delighted to see the old admiral safe on shore, and not a little astonished at his good humour, coolness, and presence of mind at his age, and at the narrow escape from such a danger."

LORD NELSON.

Sir Sidney's despatch, announcing the raising of the siege of Acre, was forwarded to Lord Nelson in one of the Tigre's prizes, a gun-boat under Mr. James Boxer, a midshipman, (who recently died a post-captain,) who told the story of his reception to Captain Sidney Smith. He found Lord Nelson at Palermo, and delivered his despatch. Lord Nelson seated him at breakfast next to himself; then read the despatch aloud to the company, among whom was Lady Hamilton, with the utmost delight. He then desired Mr. Boxer to give them some account of Sir Sidney's proceedings. On rising from table, his lordship said, "Give your name in to the secretary's office; they are making out your commission to be lieutenant." Here the young gentleman put on a woeful countenance, stammering out, that he had not passed his examination. Lord Nelson then said, write to me as soon as you have passed, and lose no time.

Soon after this the youngster passed, and wrote to Lord Nelson as he was desired, who immediately sent him a lieutenant's commission, to one of the ships under Sir Sidney's command.

LORD ST. VINCENT.

At the breaking out of the war in 1803 with the consular government of France, Sir Sidney Smith was appointed to the Antelope, and given the command of a squadron for the protection of the entrance of the Thames: upon this occasion he was sent for by Lord St. Vincent, who, on presenting him with his commission, requested him to leave town that very evening.

Sir Sidney Smith had been sent for most unexpectedly, and had left his papers, &c. at the house of Sir John Douglas at Blackheath, where he was in the habit of leaving them carelessly in his table drawer. His being hurried off so unexpectedly, must have convinced him that it proceeded from some other object besides the mere service in question, the ship being known not to be by any means in a state of forwardness. Sir Sidney, however, in the evening, got also a most friendly note from Sir Evan Nepean, entreating him to be particular in attending to the injunction of Lord St. Vincent, and on no account to omit leaving London that very evening. Sir Sidney contrived, with great exertion, to get into his carriage before daylight next morning; and on stepping out of his lodging, he observed the servant of Lord St. Vincent in livery, close to the door. Was this a watch set by the old gallant admiral on his former friend the captain plenipotentiary?

A PLEASANT COMPANION.

Sir Sidney Smith had an extraordinary memory, always ready. He could repeat pages of poetry, English, Latin, and French; when, where, or how he learned them no one of his family pretended to know; but they were always ready and appropriate in company, when conversation turned that way. He was equally ready in enlivening a party of young ladies, by every variety of charades and conundrums, generally made on the spur of the moment; by cutting paper into curious figures; and by a display of clever tricks; for all which his demand in payment was a kiss from

each. His company was much sought after. He was always lively and agreeable, and his conversation full of variety and interesting anecdotes.

MANIFESTATION OF KINDNESS RECOLLECTED.

Being at a party in Paris, shortly after the last revolution, Sir Sidney Smith, when at supper, rose to propose the health of two ladies then present, in which he not only paid a just eulogium to the memory of their gallant father, but recorded his grateful recollection of the kindness he had received from him at an early period of his life, in the following terms: "Ladies and gentlemen, I rise to propose a toast to which all present, I am sure, will cheerfully respond. I had the honour to be intimately acquainted with the late General Sir Charles Shipley, senior colonel of engineers, and afterwards governor of Grenada—as brave a soldier and as good a man as ever served his king and country. Of his abilities as an engineer, we sailors had often good reason to be sensible; few, indeed, have equalled, none have surpassed him. His long service in the West Indies brought him in contact with all our greatest naval heroes, and the immortal Nelson once said, 'It's a thousand pities Shipley was not a sailor.'

"Need I say more to prove the estimation in which we held him? but he was equally beloved by the army. When I was a youngster, although not many years his junior, Sir Charles was much my superior in rank, having, at the age of twenty-one, been appointed commanding engineer at head-quarters in Barbadoes. He was my first patron; he received me as a

father—I had ever a knife and fork at his table. I have never forgotten his kindness, and our friendship continued through life, though, from the nature of the service in which he was engaged, we met but seldom afterwards. I perceive here his two daughters, all that are left to represent so worthy and excellent a man. I drink to their health and happiness; and although they have lost those kind and royal friends who made their sojourn in this country so agreeable to them, from a grateful sense of their father's services to the inhabitants of Guadaloupe, when temporary governor of that colony, after its reduction by the British, in which expedition he commanded the first division of the army, I sincerely trust that the losses they have experienced, by a late great political event, will be regained, as I think they will, by the protection of the present sovereign of the French."

THE INFLUENCE OF BEAUTY.

In the early part of the present century, France was thrown into a state of surprise and consternation, by the reported suicide of a venerable prince of the most ancient and illustrious of the royal houses of Europe, whose body was discovered in his bed-room suspended by his cravat from a staple in the upper part of the window sash. That a Bourbon—a Condé, should have perpetrated self-destruction, no royalist, and but few high-minded Frenchmen were persuaded to admit, and certain circumstances of mystery and suspicion were not wanting, to create an unfavourable impression in the minds of many against a lady of English origin, who had married a French officer, from whom she was

separated, and who was living, at the period in question, under the protection of the unfortunate prince. Nothing, however, like proof could be produced.

On his death, the lady in question became possessed of great wealth, and people of distinction, if not for the honour of her acquaintance, at least to partake of her hospitality, for she kept a splendid table, frequented her house. She was also profuse in bestowing charity, which is said to cover a multitude of sins.

Among the fashionable and distinguished visitors at her house, the name of Admiral Sir Sidney Smith was beheld, not without pain, by some of his friends, one of whom went so far as to express her regret, that so good a man should countenance the wretched woman. "Countenance, my dear lady," said the admiral, "that's the very thing upon which I form my judgment; look at her laughing eyes and pretty face, beaming with good nature and kindness, and you'd soon cast all your suspicions overboard." In accordance with the poet's maxim, Sir Sidney thought and felt

> "If to her share some female errors fall,
> Look in her face and you forget them all."

GIGANTIC VIEWS OF BUONAPARTE.

"M. Le Chevalier, who was tutor to Sir Francis Burdett, and afterwards private secretary to Talleyrand, told me himself that Talleyrand had often said to him that the failure of Buonaparte at St. Jean d'Acre had foiled the gigantic views of that military chief. His words were, 'Il étoit en rapport avec les Druses, il vouloit donner la main à Moreau subjuguer l'Autriche, et marcher contre la Russie.' The great end of his views being the wresting of India from England."

COOLNESS IN DANGER.

No man probably was more cool and collected, when beset by imminent danger, than Sir Sidney Smith, an instance of which occurred on his North Sea command, as related by one of his lieutenants. The Antelope was caught, among the numerous banks in this sea, by a sudden and boisterous blast of wind, when a tremendous surf was raging furiously over the shallows, and the ship became unmanageable; every endeavour was made to wear the ship, but in vain; to stay her was out of the question, and nothing appeared to be left but to let her drift into the breakers. Sir Sidney having exhausted all his skill, thus addressed his officers: "Gentlemen, we have apparently acted in concert, but to no effect; you see your danger, and although we have done all we could to avert it, if there be any among you, who has a suggestion to make, I shall be most happy to hear him; but there is not a moment to lose." All were silent; no one offered the least council. "Then," says he, "there unfortunately is but one opinion. I must believe that you all agree with me that our situation is not a very enviable one, and so, my comrades," ringing the bell for his servant, with the utmost apparent composure, he said to the man, "Tell the cook to send up coffee."

A MISNOMER AND THE ADMIRAL'S PUN.

Sir Sidney Smith making one of a *parti carré* at the apartments of a lady in Paris, was asked by his hostess if he would dispense with the attendance of

servants during dinner, to which he willingly consented. "I promise you," she continued, "that you shall not be badly served, for I have always my dumb-waiter by my side."—"A dumb-waiter, madam," replied our admiral, "is a misnomer, and would offer but little advantage to us, as servants are not in the habit of talking at their master's table; you mean a deaf-waiter, all the benefits of which proclaim themselves by its name alone, *for its deafness* is the most useful *trâit* (tray) in the construction of our wooden friend."

AN AWKWARD MISTAKE.

When Sir Ralph Abercrombie was wounded, Sir Sidney Smith gave him his own horse, and received one that had belonged to a French dragoon. In galloping to the camp he was fired at by a party of British soldiers, and narrowly escaped being killed or wounded. It appeared that a custom prevailed in the French army of numbering each horse, and branding them with figures at least three inches long on the flanks, so as to make them conspicuous at a considerable distance; and this circumstance, coupled with Sir Sidney's undress naval uniform and the horse's accoutrements, led the party to take him for some unfortunate French officer trying to escape, and they fired at him a volley or two. When Sir Sidney was asked if he did not consider his situation at that moment most perilous, he replied,—"That he never felt less alarm, for he knew that every man's mark was nobody's mark, but," he added, "if they had *not* aimed at me, depend upon it, I should have been shot."

FIESCHI'S CONSPIRACY AND GENEROSITY OF A FORMER ENEMY.

On the 28th July, 1835, Louis Philippe held a grand review of the troops on a special occasion, of which public notice had been given, and a vast concourse of officers and people had assembled. On their return, having reached the Boulevard du Temple, the king, accompanied by the Duke of Orleans, the Duke de Nemours, the Prince Joinville, the Marshals Mortier, Maison, and other officers of all ranks, was alarmed by a sudden explosion, accompanied by a shower of balls, one of which struck the king's arm and another the neck of his horse; Marshal Mortier, and three other officers, one the aide-de-camp of Marshal Maison, were killed on the spot and many others; civilians and spectators did not escape. The number of persons wounded were about forty, of whom fourteen were killed. A certain machine had been constructed and placed for the purpose of destroying the king and the *élite* of his army, by a wretch of the name of Fieschi, a Corsican, who having been a vagabond soldier, had stood in the pillory for fraud and forgery, had suffered two years' imprisonment for theft, and was one of the most abandoned characters. He was seized, tried, and condemned for the conspiracy of the second infernal machine.

The body of Marshal Mortier was removed to lie in state at the *Bains Chinois* on the *Boulevard des Italiens*, exposed in full uniform, according to the prevailing custom in foreign countries with respect to distinguished individuals. Sir Sidney Smith, who had been

intimately acquainted with the marshal for many years, paid a visit to the remains of his gallant friend. Such a scene, with all the splendour that can be thrown over it, is appalling enough, and sufficient to excite the sympathy of an indifferent spectator, but more especially of a friend, who on viewing the body, and reflecting on the base and infamous act by which he was suddenly hurried into eternity, could not refrain from feelings of deep emotion. Such was the case with the gallant admiral, possessed as he always was, in an eminent degree, of the kindliest feelings of our nature. In the present instance, the spectacle, the circumstances, and the suddenness of the change, were to him overwhelming; he wept, and was too much occupied by the sincerity of his affliction, to attempt to conceal his tears, which others of less feeling might ascribe to weakness, and turn into ridicule—as it happened in the present case.

The hostility with which everything English is treated by certain portions of the French press, was basely exercised on this occasion; and our admiral's affliction for the man, the soldier, and the friend, his grief for the victim, and his indignation at the foul conspiracy, afforded "The National," the opportunity of casting ridicule, mixed with insults, on the hero of Acre, concluding with an unworthy and illiberal allusion to the *crocodile tears* of that *old pirate* Sir Sidney Smith.

[While writing this, it appears that this paper, calling itself "National," has been seized, after being tolerated many years too long.]

To suppose that Sir Sidney would have been much

affected by the sarcasms of a newspaper, must be in ignorance of his character, which was not to be disturbed by an attack in such a journal; but that he would have inflicted corporal punishment on the writer, had he come across him, there is no doubt. One naval officer, well known in both the English and the French service, like a true knight and a gentleman, who through many years of his life had passed in open hostility to England, could well appreciate the public merits of a generous enemy in war, and his private virtues at all times. This officer, Admiral Bergeret, took an early opportunity of expressing his regret that any French journal should have disgraced itself by so base an attack on Sir Sidney Smith, of whose exalted virtue and chivalry, he said "such is my idea, that, were we now in open hostility, and might be cannonading each other till the hour of dinner, I would, with perfect confidence and safety, go on board his ship and partake of his hospitality; and, if acting on the orders of our respective governments, we were obliged to recommence the action, the *pirate*, as he has insolently been called, would take the right hand at my own table the following day."

The above anecdote rests on French authority, and I have no doubt of its truth.

SIR SIDNEY SMITH'S SWORD.

In speaking of the general attention, respect, and kindness that Sir Sidney was in the habit of receiving from the French, and more particularly from the old officers, who had encountered him on the plains of Egypt and on Syria, an instance has just been given on

the part of the gallant Admiral Bergeret. Another anecdote may be related, as told by a friend of Sir Sidney, and authenticated by Captain Arabin, which proves that the sentiment of affection and esteem may exist between parties who for years had lived in a state of hostility, and may sometimes extend practically to one who has descended to the grave. And thus it happened to the memory of Sir Sidney Smith. A remarkably interesting scene of this kind occurred at the public sale of the deceased's effects, at the *Sable des Ventes* in Paris.

The ribbons and the decorations of the various orders were most of them exposed to the hammer of the auctioneer, together with a variety of trinkets of different kinds, which generally fetched more than their full value, as tokens of remembrance. Among other articles were several swords, but one in particular was singled out and declared by the auctioneer, as being the sword that Sir Sidney wore at the siege of Acre. Thus announced, a strong sensation was produced in the company, and a very general competition took place for the possession of this instrument of death and glory. It was observed, that in the eagerness of bidding, the French party generally went beyond the English, and among the rest an old French general was remarked to watch each bidder with intense anxiety, and to head every bidding, until at length, finding that the price was getting beyond his means, he thus pathetically appealed to the assembly: "Gentlemen, long had I the honour of Sir Sidney's friendship; as he was a lion in war, so was he a lamb in peace. I have fought against him, and I am

not ashamed to own, that the very sword now put up to public sale, has been the instrument that conquered me; I am but a poor man, but the hero's sword shall be mine, if it cost me the last *franc* I have in the world." The appeal and the noble sentiment that accompanied it, produced general applause; and it is almost needless to say, was irresistible, and that the sword was immediately knocked down without further contest to the gallant French officer.

NEGLECT OF THE NAVY.

Sir Sidney Smith having expressed his surprise to Lord Keith, that the first lord of the admiralty should not know even who commanded the seamen that were landed and incorporated with the army, his lordship passing over the action of the 6th and 13th, where they were in a prominent situation, and are reckoned by the army to have distinguished themselves therein, Lord Keith replies,—

"On the subject of the 21st, it is impossible to account for the acts of other men; I was not there. Your fixed rank was superior to any of the brigadiers to a certainty; but it will still more astonish men, when they find no notice of Captain Maitland and the five gun-boats, to whom the French attribute the victory on the right, and their loss on the retreat. I have never found the navy forgotten when there is any arduous undertaking or fatigue *in view*."

IN AND OUT OF COMMISSION.

When at Toulon, Lord Hood admitted Sir Sidney to some of the councils of war, when held in the flag-

ship, but some of the officers objected to his being called in, and remonstrated with his lordship on the ground, they said, of his being only on half-pay. But Sir Sidney maintained the admiral's authority with great pertinacity, and told the objectors,—"The difference between you and me is this; while you have succeeded in getting the command of a crew paid *for* you, I pay a crew for *myself*."

PROFESSIONAL SWEARING.

Sir Sidney's nephew, who sailed under him, says that he never uttered an oath, that the word *damn* never escaped his lips. Some one said that it could hardly be avoided on board ship; that he denied, and said, that sailors under a good, steady, intelligent officer, required no oath to spur them. A certain king, however, of whom he read in some old history, being on board a ship, one of the officers walking the quarter-deck by his side, in calling out to the men aloft, swore two or three broad oaths; but recollecting who was present, begged his majesty's pardon; the king, stopping him short, said, "Go on, go on, sir; I perceive it is only professional swearing."

CHAPTER XVI.

DEATH AND FUNERAL OF ADMIRAL SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

FIRST APPEARANCE OF HIS FACULTIES GIVING WAY.—PROOF OF THE ESTIMATION IN WHICH HIS CHARACTER WAS HELD BY THE MULTITUDE ATTENDING HIS FUNERAL.—HIS CHARACTER SET FORTH IN THE FUNERAL SERMON.—THE MONUMENT RAISED TO HIS MEMORY BY SUBSCRIPTION OF HIS COUNTRYMEN.—INSCRIPTIONS IN MEMORY OF SIR SIDNEY AND LADY SIDNEY SMITH.

In the early part of 1840, Sir Sidney's faculties, both mental and bodily, were observed to be giving way: he was less cheerful, less disposed for society, and less cordial with his old and best friends. The first symptom of this, discoverable in his correspondence, appears in the draft of a letter dated 20th of March, 1840, just two months before his death, addressed (*most secret and confidential,*) to "my lord," (probably his friend the Bishop Luscombe.) The writing is difficult to make out, and it breaks off abruptly. He seems by it to have fancied that, by his acceptance of the charge of Regent of the Templars, he had exposed himself to the effect of the most malignant calumnies, such as formerly brought discredit on the members of the order, and, finally, brought the grand master and other worthy members, to the stake to be burnt to death; and he seems anxious to express that, in accepting the regency, it was not impairing his alle-

giance to our gracious queen, but giving an additional support to her, and to all other Protestant thrones. His whole mind seems to have been occupied with the Star of Jerusalem and *Cœur de Lion.* On the 9th of May, 1840, Captain Arabin writes:—"The bishop came to me to announce that Sir Sidney had been taken seriously ill; we went together to see him, and, finding him in a state not to be left with strangers, I caused him to be removed to my house. In fact he had received a stroke of apoplexy, which was followed by paralysis; and the second or third day after he had been with us, he became totally paralysed, and on the 26th of May he departed this life, in the seventy-sixth year of his age." But notwithstanding the severity of the double attacks, we are assured by Captain Arabin, that he retained his faculties till within twelve hours of breathing his last.

Sir Sidney had filled too large a space in Parisian society not to be missed and lamented, having lived almost constantly among them more than twenty years, and being very generally known and highly respected; a feeling that was strongly manifested when his funeral took place. Nothing, we are told, could more indicate the respect and affection in which the character of Sir Sidney Smith was held, than the vast assemblage of every description of the population of Paris, brought together to witness the last funeral obsequies—not only of his countrymen abiding in the capital, but of Frenchmen of all ranks, persons of the highest authority, and numbers of the old French army of the East, who always held him in high estimation.

From his nephew and executor, Captain W. S. Smith,

is the following minute of his funeral. "The car," he says, "ornamented with black plumes and silver, displayed the coffin, black and gilt, partially concealed by the cocked-hat, sword, and British union jack. Immediately after the car, walked

Sir Sidney's Valet de Chambre.	A gentleman in black, bearing a cushion charged with insignia of knighthood, &c.	Master of the Ceremonies.

CHIEF MOURNERS:
His two nephews,
Captain W. S. Smith, Rev. E. Herbert,
Captain Arabin, Colonel St. Clair.

THE PALL-BEARERS WERE:
British Admiral Sir Charles Rowley. French Admiral Bergeret.
General Lord Aylmer. General Excelmans.

Among the numerous company were many British and foreign officers, in their respective uniforms.

The procession walked on foot to the Protestant church, where the burial service was read by Bishop Luscombe. From thence the procession advanced to the cemetery of Père la Chaise in eight mourning coaches, and from fifty to one hundred private coaches, for the numbers varied, all not proceeding the whole way. There the bishop concluded the service. The coffin was placed on a slab that covered the grave of Lady Smith. Three orations were then delivered, with much eloquence, by three of the deceased's French friends, the last being on the part of the Knights Templars, who claimed the cross of St. John of Jerusalem, according to the bequest of Sir Sidney in his will, to be worn by the grand master and his successors in perpetuity. It appeared during his last illness that this cross had never left his person from the day he received

it at Cyprus from the hands of the archbishop. It was found he had constantly worn it within the waistcoat, next his heart. In fact this cross and the order had become his "ruling passion, strong in death." His dying declaration was, that this sacred cross could not be otherwise disposed of, than in the temple of the Order; and there it now is, with other interesting relics; among which not the least curious is a MS. copy of the Gospel of St. John, the patron saint, said to be almost as old as Christianity itself. Many touching proofs of real affection occurred at the funeral; "among which," says Captain Smith, "we subsequently learnt, that more than one hundred respectable tradesmen, of the quarter wherein he had dwelt, followed the car on foot to the Père la Chaise; several old servants came many leagues from the country, one of whom was observed to kneel by the coffin, to utter a prayer, and then take a sorrowing departure."

The sermon preached on the occasion of his death the following Sunday, by Bishop Luscombe, was most numerously attended. He was requested to print it, which he declined, but he gave a copy of it to Captain Arabin, from which the following is a brief extract:

"The loss which we and our country have just sustained in the person of one of the bravest of her heroes, naturally raises in our bosoms serious regret and many a solemn reflection; and I have been led to believe, that notice of this loss might be taken, from this place, to your satisfaction, and, I trust, to your edification.

"You do not expect, however, unguarded flattery or unmeasured censure. You all know the high cha-

racter which our deceased countryman bore during a long life of glorious and hardy enterprise, through every scene of which he was distinguished not more by deeds of heroism, than by mercy and forbearance to the vanquished—generous in victory, and intrepid until he obtained it. This point of his character is, however, better suited to the pen of the historian than to the mouth of the Christian preacher. The corrupt nature of man leads to strife and war and to every consequent misery; and whilst this nature shall remain unsubdued by the mild influence of the Gospel, there will exist, it is to be feared, a tendency to war and desolation—to a sad waste of human life, causing heart-breaking privations, to which individuals and families are exposed, during the continuance of its destructive consequences.

"The Christian, in calm consideration of events, turns with pain and horror from the scene; but he cannot refrain from admiring a faithful discharge of duty, even in harrowing deeds, to which a deep and honest sense of it leads a brave servant of his country.

"In this light you, my Christian friends, have regarded him whose loss you now deplore; but you have regarded him, not only as the brave and intrepid hero, who shone so conspicuous among our naval heroes (all brave and intrepid in their turn), but you reflect upon his numerous and amiable qualities, which, in private life, endeared him to us all.

"Yes—you have hearts which have felt, and generosity which acknowledges the warmth and sincerity of his friendship, and his utter freedom from cold and selfish feeling; his even lavish bounty to all who soli-

cited, and who, he believed, deserved support and assistance; his ardent zeal in promoting every humane and charitable institution, and his honest enthusiasm in every undertaking which he thought likely to promote the welfare of mankind. All this, you will say, is characteristic of the profession of which he was so great an ornament—and you say well: it is our country's pride to see so many of her sons distinguished in the annals of history by all these generous sentiments; but there is not one of them, who will refuse to the character of our deceased friend, a pre-eminence in all that is lofty, and great, and generous in thought and in action. They, who shared his confidence, can bear witness to the singleness of his heart, for which they respected and loved him; they watched the inspirations of his genius and talents; they listened to his instructive and scientific conversation; and they saw them all directed to benefit his country, and to ameliorate the condition of all mankind.

"In the events of his last sickness there was much to admire. I can bear testimony that he was calm and resigned to his approaching dissolution, and attentive to the duties of religion; that he patiently awaited the will of the great Disposer of life and death; and I verily believe that he breathed his last, in faith and hope in Christ Jesus."

Mr. Spencer Smith does not appear to have attended the funeral; but he says to Captain Arabin, "when I read your mournful recital of the funeral solemnity, I have not been able to avoid a striking comparison between the latter end of two antagonists, whose names, as connected with a particular event, will re-

main inseparable in history. The assailant of Acre, after reaching the summit of human success, is hurled from the pinnacle of greatness, and consigned to an obscure grave, in a distant possession, belonging to the nation of his adversary; while the unflinching defender of that *important*, although not then *prominent* spot, pursuing his legitimate career in life, without reaping all the worldly advantages he could have done therein, ends his being, is carried in pomp to an honourable sepulchre, through the crowded streets of the very metropolis of his fallen foe, while his mortal remains are treated with mournful respect by a gazing population of former enemies, and even attended by some of the very companions in arms (I was going to say accomplices) of the Corsican exile; whose bones *we* (I cannot decide whether right or wrong) are about to restore as a boon to his deluded countrymen. Any future biographer of Sir Sidney Smith should not neglect this parallel."

The parallel is too obvious and true, not to be felt, and not to be neglected, and is therefore here introduced, in the writer's own words, from his own manuscript letter, and does not appear to require any further enlargement or comment in this place.

On the 16th of May, 1826, Lady Smith died, whose loss was deeply lamented by Sir Sidney; "he wrote to me," says Captain Sidney Smith, "a very affecting letter, and which proved to me the severe affliction he felt; such, indeed, as I had never before this event known him cast into so solemn and desponding a temper of mind. About a year after this, I visited Sir Sidney in Paris, very comfortably situated, and in better spirits than I had expected to find him. The day after my

arrival, he asked me to take a drive with him, without having said a word about his recent loss. We stopped at the gate of Père la Chaise, which we entered on foot, and walked among the tombs. At length he stopped to contemplate a respectable-looking tomb, before which he stood silent. I observed the tears rolling down his cheeks. I began to suspect the cause, and perceived, by glancing over the inscription, that he had brought me to see my aunt's tomb. In the course of our return he said, 'perhaps it will become your duty to bury me; and if so, I trust you will bury me in the same grave with my departed wife. I have taken care to arrange it for two, and have bought the ground in perpetuity.'"

On the grave-stone was inscribed :—

To the memory of
CAROLINE SIDNEY SMITH,
Who died
On the 16th of May,
1826,
Aged 60 Years.

As a Wife, a Mother, and a Friend,
Her Loss is irreparable;
And her Memory can
Never die
In the Hearts of those
She has left to deplore her.

"At Sir Sidney's death (the captain says) having been appointed co-executor with Captain Arabin, we took care that his wishes were completed; and I witnessed that his coffin was deposited over that of Lady Smith, a stone slab being placed between them." A monument of a more splendid kind was afterwards erected over the remains of both, by subscription of

the English inhabitants of Paris, which will be noticed presently.

Lady Smith left three orphan daughters, said to be handsome and accomplished ladies, and Sir Sidney had the happiness to see the whole of them well married and comfortably situated in life. One became the wife of Captain Arabin; another married the Baron de Delmar, a Prussian nobleman; and the third married Colonel de St. Clair. Their brother, the late Sir Wm. Rumbold, died in India, leaving two infant sons, who were taken charge of, and educated chiefly, by Captain and Mrs. Arabin; they are now advanced to the ages of eighteen and twenty; and are represented to have been brought up by these worthy people with the greatest care; they are reported to be excellent young men in every respect; steady in their habits, and possessed of a thorough knowledge of German, French, and Italian, speaking and writing these three languages as correctly as they do English.

No praise, indeed, is sufficient to bestow on these generous people, Captain and Mrs. Arabin, on the late melancholy occasion, for the offices of friendship and humanity exhibited by them. It was a friendship that commenced when the captain was midshipman in the Tigre, and was never interrupted but with the death of his admiral. And as it appears, from the recorded documents, that the indefatigable solicitude and untired exertions of the captain, in alleviating the difficulties and embarrassments of the admiral, are almost without example, so were they without any prospect of reward beyond that which the reflection of having done a good action is capable of bestowing. The two friends had lived much together in their pas-

sage through life, and on the approach of death Sir Sidney Smith found, under the generous and hospitable roof of Captain and Mrs. Arabin, a peaceable asylum in which to close his earthly career.

Having now gone through most of the interesting matter that the MS. documents and personal information afforded, it remains only to give a sketch of the tomb or monument which some two years after the death of Sir Sidney his countrymen in Paris erected, by subscription, to his memory. The tomb is simple and of white marble, composed of two tiers or compartments. In the centre of the upper one is a profile likeness of Sir Sidney in marble, executed by Danton from the bronze profile of David. On one side panel of this upper tier are a few lines inscribed to the memory of Sir Sidney; on the opposite side other lines to the memory of Lady Smith. Sir Sidney had desired, in his will, to be buried in the same grave with his lady, if he should die in Paris, which was strictly complied with, a flat grave-stone having been placed over the grave of the latter. The present monument covers both. The subscription for erecting it originated at a meeting of English residents in Paris, at which Lord Leven and Melville, Lord de Mouley, and some others presided.

A mere sketch of the tomb is here given, taken by a young artist, Mr. Peace, a friend of mine, who came upon it by chance, and very kindly sent it to me.

The following Latin epitaph was written by Bishop Luscombe, but, for some reason or other, which does not appear, was not adopted; whether it was the criticism of Mr. Spencer Smith that prevented it, there is nothing to shew.

M. S.
GULIELMI SIDNEY SMITH,
Ordinis Balnei Equitis illustris,
Classis Britannicæ
Ducis fortis et invicti,
Rei militaris Scientia peritissimi,
Qui
Per totum Orbem
Numine favente intrepidè prœliando
Gloriam Angliæ adauxit:
Vir
Optimarum Artium
Eruditione commendatissimus,
In Patriam fidelis,
In armatos acer, in victos lenis,
Anno ætatis septuagesimo sexto,
Spe Salutis in Christo posita,
Ex Vita demigravit
VI. Calend: Jun:
MDCCCXL.

On the lower compartment of the monument are two stanzas, one on each side-panel.

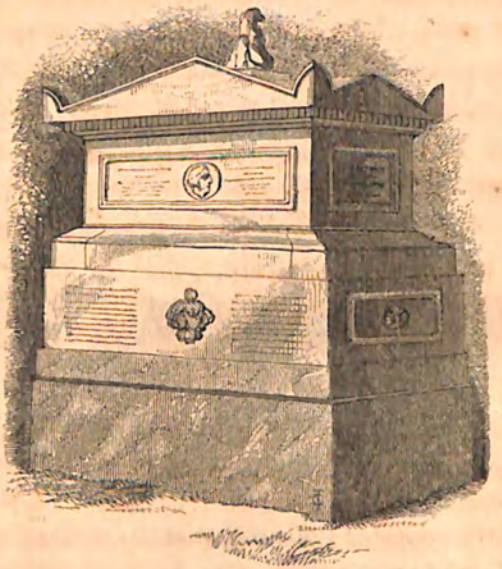
ON SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

Here rests the hero who undaunted stood,
When Acre's streets were red with Turkish blood;
In warlike France where great Napoleon rose,
The man who check'd his conquests finds repose.
Britain who claims his triumphs as her own,
Has raised for him her monumental stone;
This tomb, which marks his grave, is now supplied
By friends with whom he lived, midst whom he died;
A tribute to his memory—Here beneath
Lies the bold heart of England's Sidney Smith.

ON LADY SIDNEY SMITH.

Beloved by all to whom her worth was known,
The pride of those who claimed her for their own
Her cherished life too soon attained its close,
And here her mortal relics find repose.

But in the minds of those who yet survive,
Shall the remembrance of her virtues live ;
And hearts that mourn for all they held most dear,
Cling to the only solace left them here,
That in that world where faith may hope for bliss.
Her spirit dwells in endless happiness.



In the upper compartment, on the right of the bust :—

SIR WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH, G.C.B.,
Admiral of the Red,
Grand Cross of the Order of the Bath,
Grand Cross of several foreign Orders, &c.,
Born 21st July, 1764.
Died 26th May, 1840.

In the upper compartment, on the left of the bust :—

CAROLINE MARY,
Wife of
Admiral Sir Sidney Smith,
Born 10th May, 1760.
Died 16th May, 1826.

Bishop Luscombe, on visiting the monument, disapproved much of verses in such situations, and recommended their removal; he objected particularly to the lines concluding with, "Here beneath," "Sidney Smith." It would no doubt have been considered better taste, to have placed his Latin epitaph in front of the monument. It may, however, be deemed probably to have one defect—the *chef d'œuvre* is wanting—the very name of ACRE is left out.

Three monuments were voted by Parliament to be erected at the public expense:—to Lord Exmouth, Sir Sidney Smith, and Lord de Saumarez; that of Sir Sidney is a full-length statue, and is placed in the Painted Hall of Greenwich Hospital.

N. B.—It deserves to be mentioned, as highly creditable to Sir Sidney Smith, that he never joined in abusive or reproachful language towards Buonaparte, much less did it ever enter his mind to send him a challenge, as erroneously reported; he reprobated duelling, and has declared that he never *gave* cause for receiving, and never *had* cause for sending, a challenge. When before Acre, he sent to Buonaparte a friendly letter (which has been inserted in its proper place), advising him to withdraw, which might have given rise to the report of a challenge. Buonaparte took frequent occasions to extol Sir Sidney's bravery, skill, and perseverance; but on one occasion proclaimed him to his army as being "half mad." In his cool moments and subdued temper, at St. Helena, he said:—"Je suis faché d'avoir dit du mal de Smith, on me dit qu'il est bon enfant. Son gouvernement ne sait pas apprecier ces services en Syrie et en Egypte."

APPENDIX.

Sir Sidney had not much property to dispose of, but his *Will* may be considered a curiosity worthy of being put on record, beyond the chambers of Doctors' Commons. A copy of it is annexed.

THE WILL OF SIR SIDNEY SMITH.

Extracted from the Registry of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

THIS IS THE LAST WILL and Testament of me Sir WILLIAM SIDNEY SMITH, admiral of the White squadron of his majesty's fleet, lieutenant-general of his majesty's royal marine forces, knight grand cross of several foreign orders, knight commander of the most honourable order of the Bath, and of the Ottoman crescent, now residing at No. 6, Rue D'Anjou in the city of Paris in the kingdom of France: First I will and direct that all my just debts and funeral expenses be paid by my executors, hereinafter named, as soon as conveniently may be after my decease; and I desire that my body may be buried in the nearest Protestant or general burial-ground, if I die out of England, but if in England, at Dover, near that of my father, without useless forms or expense, beyond what is due to the customs of the world, with regard to naval and military men, and members of orders of knighthood, and to those fraternities of which I am a zealous and attached member; and I further desire that previous to my interment my nearest friends do care that more than two medical men examine my body, and pronounce from positive and indubitable proofs, by incipient putrefaction, that the vital spark is actually extinguished, and that in case I shall depart this life in Paris aforesaid, my body be interred

near my late beloved and lamented wife Caroline Mary, at Père la Chaise, and that the members of the naval and military bodies to which I belong, including those of the [redacted], such as the officers and sçavans of the Egyptian army, admirals Verhuel, Bergeret, La Bretonnière, and others at the Invalids, for whom I have a respect and regard, be invited to attend my funeral. I give and bequeath unto my eldest brother and his heirs male, my naval uniform sword of the old regulation, with the motto, "Un Dios una Ley y un Rey," on the blade, as an heir-loom, to remain and descend in the family until the heirs male thereof shall be extinct, when I will and direct that it be deposited in the church at Ashford, where is the vault of our Saxon ancestry. I give, devise, and bequeath unto my nephew, William Sidney Smith, commander in his majesty's navy, all such real estate which I charge with the payment of my just debts, as shall or may remain unsold, after payment thereof, but which debts I hope will be eventually paid, by means of the recovery of my late wife's property at Hydrabad, and of my just claims on the crown of Portugal, without having recourse to my said real estate. I further give and bequeath unto my said nephew, William Sidney Smith, the sword which was presented to me by the City of London after my return from Egypt, also all my books, charts, sea-furniture in Woolwich Dockyard, and arms, with the exception of my regulation naval sword, which I have disposed of, as hereinafter mentioned; also, three of my seals, namely, one with my coat of arms, with the honourable augmentation granted to me by George the Third, and recorded in the heralds' office; one other with the quartered arms of Portugal, as granted to me by the Prince Regent Don John in the Brazils, and the other with my name in Arabic character, also the book and passport-plates, with my arms engraven thereon, I give and bequeath unto my said nephew, William Sidney Smith, and to Septimius

Arabin, Esquire, captain in his majesty's navy, residing at No. 6, Rue D'Anjou aforesaid, as a joint property. All manuscripts, prints, and drawings serving as materials to compile and produce, by their joint labours, the history of my life. I further give and bequeath unto the said Septimius Arabin, my regulation naval sword hereinbefore mentioned, as a memento of his long gallant and zealous naval services under my command, and also all ornamental and useful household furniture now in use in the house we jointly occupy, being No. 6 in Rue D'Anjou aforesaid, in case we shall be residing together at the time of my decease, with the exception of my plate and plated articles, which I hereby will and direct to be conveyed to London as soon as possible after my decease, and to be there deposited in the hands of John Hinxman, Esquire, of Great Russell Street, Bloomsbury, navy agent, for the purpose of being disposed of and converted into money. I give and bequeath unto my nephew, Edward Beaumont Smith, all my family pictures. I give and bequeath unto my niece, Fanny Smith, my watch. I give and bequeath unto my valet de chambre, Celeston, all my wearing apparel, orders of knighthood, of course, not to be so considered. I will and direct that all records and manuscripts illustrative of the rise and progress of the antipiratical society of knights liberators of the white and black slaves in Africa, in my possession at the time of my decease, being the property of the said society, be delivered over to Marshal Count de Bourmont, to be by him deposited and placed in the keeping of the president who may be selected in my stead. I give and bequeath the Jerusalem cross worn by King Richard the First of England and Cyprus in the crusades unto the order of the Temple, to be kept in deposit in the treasury thereof, from whence it originally came into King Richard's hands, and to be worn by the grand master and his successors in perpetuity. And as to all the rest, residue, and remainder of my estate, property,

and effects, of what nature and kind soever and wheresoever situate lying and being, and whether in reversion, remainder, or expectancy, I give, devise and bequeath the same unto my said nephew William Sidney Smith, his heirs and assigns absolutely. And I do hereby nominate and appoint the said Septimius Arabin and John Hinxman, Esquires, both hereinbefore named, to be joint executors of this my will, hereby revoking all former and other wills and codicils thereto by me at any time or times heretofore made, and declaring this only to be and contain my last will and testament. In witness whereof I the said Sir William Sidney Smith have hereunto set my hand and seal at Paris aforesaid, the eighth day of March, in the year of our Lord, one thousand eight hundred and thirty-three. W. SIDNEY SMITH. (L.S.)

Signed, sealed, published and declared by the testator, William Sidney Smith, as and for his last will and testament, in the presence of us who, at his request, in his presence, and in the presence of each other, have hereunto subscribed our names as witnesses:—G. G. BENNIS, No. 55, Rue Neuve St. Augustin, Paris; HOBT. S. SLOPER, Place Dauphin 12, Paris, solicitor; HENRY CATON, No. 24, Rue Miremond, Faubourg St. Honoré, Paris, gentleman.

Proved at London, 6th June 1840, before the worshipful John Elliot Pasley Robertson, doctor of laws and surrogate, by the oath of John Hinxman, Esquire, one of the executors, to whom administration was granted, having been first sworn duly to administer. Power reserved of making the like grant to Septimius Arabin, Esquire, the other executor, when he should apply for the same.

CHAS. DYNELEY,
JOHN IGGULDEN,
W. F. GESTHING. } Deputy Registrars.

THE END.

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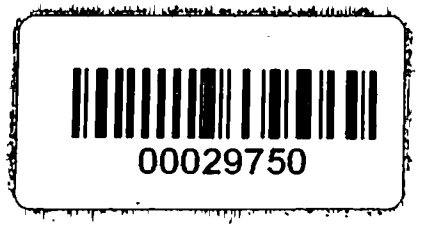
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